

KASHMIR

History AND Politics

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KASHMIR : History and Politics

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Preface

In order to reach a correct understanding of Indian history and its extra ordinary tangle of racial and religious dispute and it is all above necessary to realise that although India is a part of continent of Asia, she is point of fact a continent in herself.

Thirty years ago, Dorothy Woodman, a confirmed friend of India, concluded her excellent work *Himalayan Frontiers* with these words: "India today seems to be the victim of three traumas: Kashmir, the Aksai Chin, and poverty. To try to resolve the first two by vast military expenditure can only divert her funds and energies from the struggle against poverty. India cannot afford to play Russia's war game with China, nor her own war game with Pakistan. China, whatever the ruling power, will continue to make the same demands that Peking is making today, since her national interests must remain the same and the geographical background is permanent. She, too, cannot risk two enemies on her frontier nor a series of Vietnams round her periphery. India is, in fact, faced with the alternatives of the Himalayas as one vast radar screen or the initiation of an active foreign policy to reopen talks with Pakistan and China. To settle for the present stalemate is to condone a militarily active frontier across Asia."

On each front, Kashmir and the border with China, the dispute is no nearer a solution than it then was. On neither has India once taken a diplomatic initiative which

had a realistic prospect of success. It has consistently refused to reckon with interests other than its own. The style of diplomacy remains the same the grand stand, the superior moralising, the disingenuous legalism and assertions on the pacts which none outside the shores of India accepts.

India is ever willing to *talk*; it is never willing to *negotiate*. Bar brief interludes, no government has felt itself strong enough to negotiate a settlement. That entails concessions and compromise and these would earn unpopularity. Unless the Opposition parties cooperate in the endeavour, as the Conservatives did with the Labour Government in order to settle the Irish question, no settlement is politically possible no matter how favourable it be to the national interest.

Time there was when India refused to acknowledge the very existence of a border "dispute" with China. In the last forty years of the fifty-year-old Kashmir dispute, India has adopted the same stand. But the dispute refuses to vanish for three reasons. One is the alienation of the people of the State, specifically of the Valley. The second is Pakistan's continuous, persistent agitation to secure recognition of its *locus standi* in the dispute and a solution that reckons with it. Lastly, as these two factors persist, the world outside refuses to accept India's claim that Kashmir is a purely internal affair and a closed chapter.

The general emphasis in this book is on the History and Politics of modern Kashmir rather than on the chronology of events. Therefore, a chronological symmetry, a detailed index have been included in this book.

Editor

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Kashmir: History and Politics

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Elsewhere, territorial disputes are recognised as such and resolved over a period of time, Trieste, South Tyrol and Saar, for instance. Uniquely, Indian officials and establishment columnists pretend that the "dispute" is but a symptom of a wider malaise, namely, the malevolence of the adversary a bigoted Pakistan and, for long, a Maoist China.

For a change, one might ask whether there is not something in India's outlook which accounts, at least in part, for the imbroglios in which it has tended to find itself. May not the Kashmir dispute be a "symptom" of

our Big-Neighbour policy over the years? The origin of this dispute lies in the events at the time of Partition. Its complexities are imbedded in the memories of that tragic phase. Discussing the problem with a wide range of persons recently, the writer heard one viewpoint, articulated by one of India's most cerebral diplomats still in service, that the Kashmir question of today stands by itself divorced from the past. He was only partly right in that the solutions one can realistically consider now are basically different from those discussed until, say, 1965. Kashmir's secession from the Indian Union must be ruled out.

But he was altogether wrong in implying the irrelevance of the past. It was, however, left to the ablest head of one of India's services in recent years to reach the heart of the matter. *Pakistan, he said, is a country with a grievance.* It is another matter that it bears no little responsibility for its own predicament. Its intellectuals, bar exceptions, are as chauvinistic as India's. Dissent in Pakistan enjoys far less freedom, though.

However, there can be little progress towards a solution to the Kashmir question unless the reality of an aggrieved Pakistan and India's share of responsibility for its grievances are accepted. It is woefully apparent by now that there can be no stability in South Asia unless the Kashmir dispute is resolved. Since the roots of those grievances lie in 1947, any work of scholarship, no matter how tendentious its conclusions, is welcome.

Alastair Lamb is both scholarly and tendentious. His latest work (*Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute 1947-1948*, Roxford Books, Hertingfordbury, Hertfordshire, U.K.) reflects that. It is an extended version of an earlier book, *Birth of a Tragedy: Kashmir 1947* (vide the writer's review, "Lessons from history", and a review of his major work, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy*

1846-1990, in *Frontline*, March 27, 1992). It draws liberally on the records in the British Library but without citing the references except once. The Government of India adamantly refuses to open its archival records pertaining to those years. Students of India's foreign affairs are constrained to fall back on foreign sources. They owe a lot to Salim Al-Din Qureshi, head of the Modern South Asian Languages Section in charge of the former India Office Records, who retired recently.

In the present work, as before, Alastair Lamb flogs his hobby horse that the Maharaja of Kashmir signed the Instrument of Accession *after* Indian troops landed in Srinagar on October 27, 1947, and not on October 26. On the facts he is right. But, as was pointed out earlier (in 1995), it does not affect the legality of the accession one bit.

The present work contains one of the fullest accounts of the war in Kashmir (1947-48) based on sources from both sides. No less convincing is he in proving to the hilt that Cyril Radcliffe *did alter his boundary Award on Punjab at Viceroy Lord Mountbatten's instance*. This was clearly suggested by one of the foremost scholars on Partition, Prof. R.J. Moore, in his book *Making the New Commonwealth* (1987). On February 24, 1992, *The Daily Telegraph* published disclosures by a man of high integrity, C.H. Beaumont, ICS, private secretary to Radcliffe, that at a lunch on August 12, 1947, from which he was excluded, unprecedentedly and on false pretexts, Radcliffe was persuaded by Mountbatten to allot Ferozepur and Zira subdistricts to India by altering his draft Award which had given them to Pakistan. On the previous evening, V.P. Menon had asked to see Radcliffe but Beaumont rebuffed him. "Mountbatten interfered and Radcliffe allowed himself to be overborne. Grave discredit to both." No sooner was

this published than all hell broke loose. Professor Tapan Raychaudhuri's comment from Oxford was typical: "Just one person talking doesn't change anything."

Lamb quotes from the archives Radcliffe's explicit admission to Arthur Henderson, Under-Secretary of State at the India Office, in August or September 1947 that "he showed the first draft of the proposed Award to the authorities in Delhi, and that on further consideration he made the Award in terms which departed from the first draft."

Like all others, Lamb ignores a 20-year-old record of unimpeachable authority by one whose exertions led to the alteration, the memoirs of Dr. Kanwar Sain, *Reminiscences of an Engineer* (Young Asia Publications, New Delhi; 1978). Its Chapter II is entitled "Mountbatten Alters Punjab Boundary at Eleventh Hour". The author, who came to win international repute, was then in the service of Bikaner. He reproduces texts of memoranda submitted to the Radcliffe Commission. It was learnt by a source in the evening of August 8, 1947 that Ferozepur, Zira and Fazilka were to be awarded to Pakistan. This spelt the transfer of the Ferozepur Headworks and the head reach of the Gang Canal also to Pakistan. The information reached Sain on August 10. He alerted the Diwan, K.M. Panikkar, and the Maharaja. The full text of the ruler's protest to Mountbatten is set out. It was handed over to him on August 11 with the threat that if the Award was not altered, the ruler "in the interest of his subjects, would have no option left but to opt for Pakistan." That evening it was announced that publication of the Award would be delayed. The next day came the now famous lunch.

In the latest book Lamb convincingly demonstrates that no judge could possibly have awarded Gurdaspur tehsil to Pakistan and demolishes the myths fostered by

Pakistan. He also suggests that the alteration in respect of Ferozepur was not wrong on the merits but criticises Mountbatten for meddling with the Award. A whole file was created in 1948 to cover up Mountbatten's impropriety.

It now rests in the British Library. But his exoneration now, for the first time, of Radcliffe testifies to his ignorance of the proprieties of the matter. "The barrister's first duty is to his client," the British Government "which had retained him and in whose best interests, as he saw it, he acted." That Government and the rulers of India and Pakistan had appointed him, and he had undertaken to discharge a *judicial* function. Radcliffe deceived one of the parties which was privy to the appointment, Pakistan.

The record with regard to the tampering of the draft Award in favour of India is incontestable. *What would have been India's reaction if it had been the victim of such deceit by an arbitrator acting. If through a supposedly impartial Viceroy, at the instance of Pakistan?*

Nor is that all. Ayesha Jalal's writings have earned her deserved respect internationally besides the ire of many people in Pakistan. Her splendid work *The State of Martial Rule* rejects "Pakistani denials of involvement in the actual fighting in the Kashmir war" well before its army intervened in 1948. It is a study of the origins of Pakistan's political economy of defence. "Pakistan's share of the spoils" on India's Partition cites facts and figures in support of her statements. The procedures for the interim period, from August 15, 1947 to March 31, 1948, and India's control over the assets meanwhile were used to India's advantage. She writes. "New Delhi's dictum of 'what it had it kept' and 'what it collected (in central revenues) it also kept' made nonsense of Pakistan's pleas for justice and fair play" (page 46). Officials in the British

War Office "conceded that the Government of India's attitude towards Pakistan was one of almost indecent hostility ... Pakistan's share of the financial assets of undivided India fell short of what it had bargained for."

It had claimed Rs. 1 billion of the estimated Rs.4 billion in cash balances but received Rs.750 million. "In addition to the Rs.200 million made available in August for its initial cash-flow requirements, Pakistan was given another Rs. 550 million as its full and final share of the rupee cash balances. The timetable for the actual transfer, however, was to be determined by India." These were the famous Rs.55 crores which Gandhi insisted should be handed over to Pakistan.

"Pakistan's share of the total assets and liabilities of undivided India was to be in the order of 17.5 per cent. A more complicated method was devised to determine Pakistan's share of the sterling balances. All in all Pakistan ended up with some 1147 million out of a total of £1,160 million in sterling balances held by the Reserve Bank."

Such treatment leaves deep scars on the mind. Pakistan's psyche was not unaffected. In that clime erupted the crises over Junagadh's accession to India and Kashmir's to Pakistan. Both countries adopted double standards on three vital issues the worth of a Maharaja's signature on the Instrument of Accession; the use of force; and the communal criterion.

It was in Bombay on September 25, 1947, that a Provisional Government for Junagadh (*Arzi Hukumat*) was formed with Sardar Patel's "knowledge", a biographer records. His approval was implicit. Its President was Samaldas Gandhi, a relative of Gandhi. It drew a scathing censure from one of India's finest advocates ever, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, in a letter to *The Times of India* (October 3, 1947). Formed as it was "with

the avowed object of overthrowing by force the established Government in Junagadh," the Government of India was "bound" in law not to allow it "to start its hostile actions" on Indian territory precisely the wrong Pakistan committed three weeks later when it sent the tribal people into Kashmir. On November 9, 1947' the Indian Army moved into Junagadh.

There is not one work by a scholar in India or Pakistan which analyses those murky events with even a pretence to objectivity. Officially sponsored books emerge to this day; *sub rosa*, of course. Lamb would have rendered a high service had he filled the void. He uses his undoubted gifts of scholarship in aid of pro-Pakistan polemics. The reader should ignore the polemics and concentrate on the archival disclosures. He will be struck by Britain's insistence on direct talks between India and Pakistan, as early as on October 26, 1947, and by the repeated references in private to the partition of Kashmir between the two countries while publicly the discourse centred on the principle that its people themselves should decide their future through a plebiscite.

On October 13, more than a week before the raiders entered Kashmir, V.P. Menon broached the idea gingerly with the British High Commissioner, Terence Shone, who, in turn, pressed the idea on the Ministry of Defence (November 3).

By November 27, V.P. Menon and Mohammed Ali, Secretary-General of Pakistan's Cabinet, had hammered out a draft Agreement. Two hours after Mohammed Ali's plane left Delhi, the draft was rejected by the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. It contained a paragraph to the effect that "neither Government would accept the accession of a State whose ruler was of a different religion to the majority of his subjects without resorting to a plebiscite". That included Hyderabad. That also

sanctified the communal criterion.

Earlier, Jinnah had turned down precisely such an offer which Mountbatten had made to him in writing at Lahore on November 1, 1947, no doubt with Nehru's and Patel's, approval. It was first revealed in 1971 when it was published in *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1,94550, Volume*. It read thus: "The Governments of India and Pakistan agree that, where the ruler of a State does not belong to The community to which the majority of his subjects belong, and where the State 'has not acceded to that Dominion whose majority community is the same as the State's, the question of whether the State should finally accede to one or the other of the Dominions should in all cases be decided by an impartial reference to the will of the people." Jinnah replied that a plebiscite was "redundant and undesirable." He also refused to include Hyderabad in the reckoning.

While Indians must not be unmindful of Pakistan's grievances and the wrongs its leaders did, Pakistanis should do some serious introspection. It was their Quaid-e-Azam's arrogance and shortsightedness which left the subcontinent with the cancerous legacy of "the Kashmir dispute." Jinnah's daughter, Dina, fondly called him "Grey Wolf", seeing his absorption in H.C. Armstrong's famous biography of Mustafa Kemal which bore that title. But Jinnah was no Ataturk. The latter renounced irredentist claims and set about the task of nation-building. Jinnah could have grasped the offer of the All India Congress Committee (AICC) of June 15, 1947 "The people of the States must have a dominating voice in any decisions regarding them." Instead he flouted the democratic principle, egged on Jodhpur and Hyderabad, and accepted junagadh's accession. He miscalculated on Hyderabad's endurance as a bargaining chip and did lasting wrong to its people, those of Kashmir, his own

country and to peace in South Asia. Far from showing statesmanship in his hour of victory, Jinnah embarked on a game of petty tactics.

The insightful scholar Wilfred Cantwell Smith posed a legitimate question in his work *Islam in Modern India* (1957) which no Pakistani intellectual has cared to answer: "Mr. Jinnah is usually regarded, by Pakistanis at least, as a brilliant leader. That he was a clever dialectician and lawyer seems dear. Yet is it not perhaps time to bring into question his statesmanship, his political sagacity, in view of his apparent failure to foresee apparently even to try to foresee the concrete outworking of his proposals? ... If he is to be credited with all Pakistan's achievements, as is customary, should he be exempted from responsibility for its problems?"

George F. Kennan's aphorism applied to *both* sides: "When the ambivalence of one's virtue is recognised the total iniquity of one's opponent is also irreparably impaired." Memoirs abound with revelation of Pakistan's planned attack on Kashmir in August 1965. Yet, September 6, 1965, the day India marched towards Lahore in justified retaliation, is observed as Defence Day. Likewise, everyone knows that Indian armour entered East Pakistan on November 21, 1971 and a massive assault was planned for December 1971. But in Indian tallies of aggression Yahya Khan's serial attacks on December 3 rank as one more aggression.

The 1965 aggression rendered plebiscite impossible. You cannot allow a state to win territory by a plebiscite or on the conference table which it had failed to grab at its chosen forum the battlefield.

This does not affect one bit the validity of India's pledges to the people of Kashmir, specifically, the one in the letter attached to the Instrument of Accession "the

question of accession should be settled by a reference to the people." This pledge must be fulfilled in the light of the conditions of today. Nehru himself called it a "proviso" to the Instrument.

There is ample evidence also to prove that Nehru had decided *to resile from his pledges on a plebiscite as early as in 1948*. (vide *Frontline*, March 24, 1995 for details). Irrefutable evidence on this appeared in 1996 in Volume 19 of *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* (page 322). It is a highly secret Note he wrote at Sonamarg in Kashmir, dated August 25, 1952, addressed to its Prime Minister (as he was then called), Sheikh Abdullah. As a piece of cool analysis, it has no parallel in any of Nehru's writings, still less in its frank cynicism. It virtually admitted that he had set his face against a plebiscite "towards the end of December 1948". He accepted the U.N.'s plebiscite proposals on December 23, 1948 only in order to achieve a ceasefire. He was resolved to maintain "the *status quo* then existing" by brute force.

Nehru wrote: "We are superior to Pakistan in military and industrial power. But that superiority is not so great as to produce results quickly either in war or by fear of war. Therefore, our national interest demands that we should adopt a peaceful policy towards Pakistan and, at the same time, add to our strength. Strength ultimately comes not from the defence forces, but the industrial and economic background behind them. As we grow in strength, and we are likely to do so, Pakistan will feel less and less inclined to threaten or harass us, and a time will come when, through sheer force of circumstances, it will be in a mood to accept a settlement which we consider fair, whether in Kashmir or elsewhere." This was the very policy of "negotiating from strength" which he lectured to others censoriously.

Nehru continued: "Doubts in the minds of leaders

percolate to their followers and to the people generally. The weakness of the situation in Kashmir is the constant discussions which go on between people holding different views. I do not know how many such groups there are, but obviously some people talk about a close association with India, others talk about a loose association with India, yet others think, if not talk, of an association with Pakistan, and yet others talk about independence. All this confusion in ideas and constant debate weakens the basic position. What is required is a firm and clear outlook, *and no debate about basic issues. If we have that outlook, it just does not matter what the United Nations thinks or what Pakistan does*" (emphasis added~throughout).

Nehru overlooked three factors. *Pakistan, the aggrieved and therefore revisionist state, would not acquiesce in a status quo established at the cost of its pride, no matter how long it continued.* Secondly, Sheikh Abdullah had even in 1948 grave reservations about the kind accession Nehru had in mind. A file in the British Library reveals that very clearly, (L/P&S/ 13/134 1). It contains a telegram from the British High Commissioner in India to London (February 11, 1948) conveying details of the talks Patrick Gordon Walker, Under-Secretary of State in the Commonwealth Relations Office, had with Nehru the day before. Nehru invited Sheikh Abdullah to join them and left. "Just before Nehru left, Sheikh Abdullah said he thought the solution was that Kashmir should accede to *both* Dominions... He said Kashmir's trade was with India, that India was progressive and that Nehru was an Indian. On the other hand, Kashmir's trade passed through Pakistan and a hostile Pakistan would be a constant danger. The solution therefore was that Kashmir should have its autonomy jointly guaranteed by India and Pakistan and it would delegate its foreign policy and defence to them both jointly but would look after its own

internal affairs ... I asked whether Nehru would agree to this solution and he said he thought so. He had discussed it with him."

Nehru himself told Gordon Walker later that "he would be prepared to accept a solution broadly on the lines of that proposed by Sheikh Abdullah" (paras 7 and 10). Nehru was, of course, fully aware of its impracticability. He humoured the Sheikh.

Nehru's third and gravest mistake was in underestimating the assertiveness of the people if not, indeed, of their relevance. "It must be remembered that the people of the Kashmir Valley and round-about, though highly gifted in many ways in intelligence, in artisanship, etc. are not what are called a virile people. They are soft and addicted to easy living." Events were to prove him wrong on all three points. Yet this is the disastrous policy which won national acceptance and has been followed to this day. Forgotten was his repeated pledges of a plebiscite, from 1947 to 1954, "not merely a pledge to your (Pakistan's) Government, but also to the people of Kashmir and to the world" (October 31, 1947).

History is not irrelevant to a solution of the problems that beset us. Nehru's Note ranks with NSC-68, both in its historic significance and as a guide to folly and disaster. NSC-68 also won national acceptance. As propounded by Kennan, the doctrine of containment envisaged resistance to Soviet expansion at *selected* strongpoints. He resigned as Director of the Policy Planning Staff of the U.S. State Department at the end of 1949. An ad hoc group under the chairmanship of his successor, Paul H. Nitze, prepared a paper advocating resistance on *all* points along the perimeter, regardless of whether the U.S.' vital interests were affected or not. (Vietnam was a classic case of such folly.)

It urged "a firm policy intended to check and roll back the Kremlin's drive for world domination" a drive which, as the Soviet archives have revealed, simply did not exist. The National Security Council adopted the paper in 1950 having received President Truman's approval. It moulded the course of U.S. policy for the next four decades. Like NSC-68, the Nehru Note has shaped India's Kashmir policy all these years with results that are there for all to see an estranged neighbour, an alienated State in the Union and international disapproval. This albatross has hampered India's rise to greatness and prevented the formulation of a sensible foreign policy.

History is relevant, so relevant that what followed historical blunders cannot be wished away either. India needs to work towards a solution which all three parties can accept. In 1998 India cannot contemplate Kashmir's de-accession at all. Nor can Pakistan accept the *status quo*. Why should a revisionist accept in settlement what it already has? India cannot give it a *territorial* stake in the Valley. But it can grant it a *juridical locus standi* in regard to maintenance of Kashmir's *autonomy within the Indian Union*. The Treaty will confer on India similar rights in respect of Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir (POK). There are precedents of recognition of the neighbouring state's interest in the autonomy of a given area under the acknowledged sovereignty of the state that administers it South Tyrol, Aaland Islands and, recently, Northern Ireland. The people of the state thus receive constitutional as well as international guarantees of autonomy.

There is unfortunately little prospect of any solution emerging for quite some time for the simple reason that there is little prospect of domestic political stability in either country. The entire South Asia has split polities, so

great is the divide between the Opposition and the ruling parties. Bold solutions can be worked out only by men of vision and strength who command political acceptance in the country and who are skilful in winning support for their policies. Continuance of the impasse is no reason why in India and Pakistan students of public affairs should not subject the records of their respective leaders to careful, if respectful, scrutiny and come as close as they can to an understanding of the past. Only thus can the problems be resolved.

Kashmir: Historical Background

The ruling classes of Kashmir were Rajputs, who seem to have taken refuge in these mountain fastnesses when the Rajput hegemony in the Punjab was shattered in the twelfth century by the invasion of Mohammad of Ghor. Their petty principalities, the most important of which were those of Jammu, Khistwar, and Bhadarwah, maintained their independence even during the Moghul times, though no doubt they paid a nominal tribute and accepted the overlordship of the Padishah of Hindustan. On the disintegration of the Moghul kingdom in first half of the eighteenth century, following the invasion of Nadir Shah, the Rajput rulers who held sway around the town of Jammu regained their complete independence. They even acquired under Rajah Dhrov Deo and his son, Rajah Ranjit Deo, some prominence in the politics of the Northern Punjab. Ranjit Deo was a ruler who was highly respected in the hilly tracts over which he held sway. He received a jagir from the Durranni king for sending a small force to Kashmir via Banihal to punish Rajah Sukh Tewari. He subdued most of the petty hill rajahs around Jammu, notably Nihar Singh, Rajah of Khistwar; Shamsar Chand, Rajah of Chenani; Kirchipal, Rajah of Bhadarwah; and Amrit Pal, Rajah of Besolhi. He also held many jagirs in the Punjab, especially in the district of Gujrat. But this independence which Ranjit Deo achieved was short-lived. With the breakdown of Mohammadan authority in the Punjab the great Sikh

misl began to acquire political and territorial importance, and Jammu, along with the rest of the Northern Punjab, became the scene of rivalry between the sardars of the Bhangi, Kaneihya, and Sukerchakia misls. The sardars of the Bhangi misl attack Jammu in about 1770 and compelled Ranjit Deo to pay tribute to them. Ranjit Deo had two sons, Brij Lal and Dulel Singh. Brij Lal revolted against his father and sought the help of Charrat Singh, the Sukerchakia chief, and together they attacked Jammu. Ranjit Deo naturally depended for help upon the Bhangi chief whose overlordship he had accepted. In the fight that took place at Jammu, Charrat Singh was killed. The Sukerchakia partisans, fearing that Janda Singh, the Bhangi chief, might profit by this catastrophe, had him also murdered. Brij Lal, who succeeded his father in 1780, was a great friend of Mahan Singh, the son of Charrat Singh, who is known to history as the father of Ranjit Singh. Brij Lal now considered himself strong enough to claim from the Bhangi chieftains some of his estates which had fallen to them and to reassert his independence. The Bhangis secured the help of the Kaneihya misl, and in the fight that followed Mahan Singh was defeated and Brij Lal had to agree to a humiliating peace, by which he undertook to pay a tribute to the Kaneihya chieftain. On the pretext that this tribute had fallen into arrears, the Kaneihya chieftain decided to attack Jammu. He requested the help of Mahan Singh in this expedition.

Mahan Singh, though he had vowed solemn vows of friendship with Brij Lal, forgot his obligations and agreed to help. But one who was not loyal even to his own sworn friend was not likely to be faithful to a temporary alliance. Before the Kaneihya chieftain began to march, Mahan Singh attacked Jammu, sacked the town and plundered the treasure accumulated in the palace. Laden with the booty he retired to the plains, leaving Brij Lal

Deo to the government of this principality. The sack of Jammu saved its independence for a time. The contending Sikh chieftains, knowing that there was nothing left in the treasury, left Jammu well alone. The sovereignty of the House of Dhrov Deo over the surrounding country disappeared, but Brij Lal was still in possession of the Jammu town and fort and continued to maintain the form and court of petty royalty. The hilly districts of the interior remained in the possession of the other members of the family, who held them as jagirs. On the death of Brij Lal, he was succeeded by his one year old child Sampurna Deo. The State was managed by Mian Mota, a cousin of Brij Lal. Sampurna Deo died at the age of eleven, and was succeeded by Jeet Singh, the son of the Dulel Singh.

Gulab Singh is descended in direct line from Rajah Dhrov through his third son, Mian Soorut Deo. Soorut Deo, who was thus the third brother of Rajah Ranjit Deo, had a son, Mian Zorawar Singh. His son was Kishore Singh, who held the jagir of Andarwah in Jammu Tehsil. Gulab Singh was his eldest son. The following is the genealogy of the family: Some doubt was cast on the genealogy of the Jammu family by Cunningham and others, whose enthusiastic admiration of the Sikhs led them to an unreasonable hatred of Rajah Gulab Singh, whom they considered to be the chief cause of the ruin of the Sikh State. But there is no doubt whatever about the genealogy of the family. Zorawar Singh was alive during a considerable portion of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's reign, and Mian Kishore Singh, the father of Gulab Singh, was also later on at the Lahore Court. Maharajah Ranjit Singh, in his grant of the Raj of Jammu to Gulab Singh, mentions the fact of Gulab's ancestors having been the rulers of the State. Ranjit Singh's father and grandfather had fought against the Rajah of Jammu, Ranjit Deo and Brij Lal Deo, and therefore knew the history of that

family intimately. The ancestry of Maharajah Gulab Singh became a matter of controversy, not only through the sycophancy of his courtiers. A Kashmiri Pandit went to the length of identifying the thirty-five missing kings in Kalhanas' list of Kashmir kings in the *Rajataranjini* with the early ancestors of the Jammu family. There is, however, not the least doubt that Gulab Singh was descended in the direct male line from Rajah Dhrov Deo, the Rajput prince of the Surya Vansi dynasty, who ruled over Jammu in the eighteenth century.

Mian Kishore Singh is reported to have been a valiant soldier. He lived mainly on his jagir at Andarwah, eight miles from the modern town of Samba. His financial condition does not seem to have been prosperous, and he achieved distinction only after his sons attained prominence. Kishore Singh married a Rajput lady of the Jij cast. The marriage was celebrated at Gam Madtha, a village in the Besolhi district. By this lady he had three sons, Gulab Singh, Dhyan Singh, and Suchet Singh. Gulab Singh was born in 1792, Dhyan Singh was born in 1796, and Suchet Singh in 1801. Early in his childhood Gulab Singh was sent to live with his grandfather, Zorawar Singh, a stern old warrior who lived in his jagir, Dyawago, at some distance from Jammu. Like all true Rajputs of the time, Zorawar Singh had great contempt for the study of letters, and does not seem to have taken any trouble to give his grandson a literary education. All that Gulab Singh seems to have learnt was to read and write. But though Zorawar neglected to give Gulab Singh any school education, he trained him in all manly arts. Thus even at a very early age Gulab Singh could ride his horse like any cavalry trooper and wield his sword with deadly effect. He was also an excellent marksman.

An opportunity soon came for Gulab Singh to exhibit his prowess. The affairs of Jammu were in great

confusion. Rajah Jeet Singh, the nephew of Brij Lal Deo, was an incompetent man, and his rani was an ambitious, intriguing woman. She took the management of affairs in her own hands. Taking advantage of the confusion resulting from this, Ranjit Singh ordered, in 1808, Bhai Hukam Singh to reduce Jammu and to annex to the Sikh State. The Sikh general advanced with a very considerable force and reached the confines of Jammu. Mian Mota, who was in charge of the defence, organised a small force and came out of the town to give battle. When the force met outside the Gumat Gate, young Gulab Singh, who was but a boy of sixteen, was found taking an active and prominent part in the battle. His spirit of adventure had been roused. Here was a unique opportunity to distinguish himself before his Rajput brethren and to earn a name for himself. Without even obtaining permission from his grandfather, Gulab Singh borrowed a charger from the stables and appeared on the battlefield. His prowess on that day attracted the attention of Hukam Singh, the enemy commander. The defence was to some extent successful, and Gulab Singh's part in it was not mean one. Hukam Singh had to withdraw his forces to Saidgarh. But a skirmish could not stem the onrush of Ranjit Singh's forces, and the whole province passed under the suzerainty of Ranjit Singh and the Lahore government.

Soon after this Gulab Singh left his grandfather's protection. It seems that one day he took a horse from his grandfather's stable and went for a ride in the forest. By careless riding he hurt the animal, and on return his grandfather, who, true to his soldier's creed, loved his horse as comrade, scolded the boy for his carelessness. The sensitive mind of the boy he was still hardly more than seventeen was so hurt by these unkind words that he took some ornaments from his mother and left the house at night with a few attendants. His original idea

was to enlist in the army of Shah Shuja, the unlucky ruler of Kabul, whom his uncle, Shah Mahmud, had expelled from Afghanistan and succeeded on the Kabul throne with the help of the Bakarzai tribe. But when he reached the Indus his attendants refused to go to Afghanistan. Foiled in his intention to go to Kabul, Gulab Singh approached Dewan Khushwaqt Rai, who was managing the Jagir of Sardar Nehal Singh of Attari. The Dewan was intensely disliked by the people of the jagir, whom he oppressed greatly by his merciless exactions. As there was great unrest among them, the Dewan decided to raise a small force for the purpose of defending himself and his master's property. Gulab Singh approached the Dewan and offered his services, which were accepted. He is himself responsible for the story that a certain jamadar, who was formerly in the employ of Zorawar Singh, reported to Khushwaqt Rai the identity of the new recruit. Gulab Singh did not have to wait long to win his spurs. Soon after he joined service a skirmish occurred in which the Dewan's forces were routed by the villagers, who attacked the fort itself. It was only Gulab Singh's courage and intrepid action that saved the fort and enabled the Dewan to put down the incipient rebellion. This action of his attracted attention, and Hukam Singh, who already had occasion to notice the young Main's prowess, reported the matter to Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh asked Main Mota to send Gulab Singh down to him. In Samvat 1867 Gulab Singh joined the army of Ranjit Singh at Daska, a village a few miles from Sialkot.

Gulab Singh

The author of *Gulabnama* says that Gulab Singh was taken into Ranjit Singh's service as commander of a regiment on a monthly salary of Rs.275. This is not unlikely. Cunningham, and, following him, most English writers, assert that Gulab Singh was employed at the Lahore court as a running foot-man. This is quite

improbable. It is clear that he was personally well known to Ranjit Singh and was holding a sufficiently important post near the Maharajah, for we find him, almost immediately after his own appointment, presenting his brother Mian Dhyan Singh at Court. Dhyan Singh was appointed on a monthly salary of Rs.60. Kishore Singh was also introduced to Maharajah Ranjit Singh, who appointed him to a civil post carrying Rs. 55 a month.

In 1809, when Gulab Singh joined the Lahore Court, Ranjit Singh had not attained the eminence which at a later time earned for him the sobriquet of the Lion of the Punjab. He was as yet looked upon only as a rising potentate. His empire, which later on extended from the Pamirs to Sind and from Peshawar to the Sutlej and included within it not only the Punjab but the North-West Frontier provinces and the territories of Jammu and Kashmir, was then only in formation. Ranjit Singh had acquired Lahore and the title of Rajah only in 1799. It was not until 1802, when he was just twenty-two, that he attacked and conquered Amritsar. Moreover, the power, the power of the Sikh misls had not been finally broken till the destruction of the Nakkai confederacy in 1810. In 1809, the English concluded a treaty with him, as they saw in him a formidable frontier chief who was likely to unite the forces of the Khalsa under his personal rule. The Maharajah was daily strengthening his position, but it is necessary to remember that in 1809, when Gulab Singh joined his service, he was not yet the renowned and masterful King of the Punjab, but merely an important and rising Sikh ruler, claiming his title from the grant of the Afghan and his power from the alliance of the Sikh misls.

In 1812 Ranjit Singh started on his first expedition against Kashmir, in alliance with Fateh Khan, Minister of Shah Mahmud of Kabul. To understand the events which

follow it is necessary to realise the position of the Afghan kingdom at this time. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the Durrani Empire comprised the whole of the Indus Valley, including Multan, Kashmir, and the hilly provinces attached to the valley. Peshawar, Attock, and other places were considered integral parts of Afghanistan in the same sense as are Herat and Kandahar to-day. Kashmir was a recognised province of the empire. Zaman Shah, whose name had once been a terror to the East India Company, was on the throne in 1803, and it was from him that Ranjit Singh had received the title of Rajah in 1799. But in that year the Shah was deposed by Mahmud, his brother. Mahmud was in turn expelled by Shah Shuja, the unlucky sovereign who plays an important part in the history of the Punjab during the next thirty years. In 1809 the Bakarzai tribe again rebelled, and its chief, Fateh Khan, son of Poynda Khan, put Mahmud back on the throne, keeping to himself all the power in the State as Wazir. It was this Wazir Fateh Khan who allied himself with Ranjit in the invasion of Kashmir. General Mokam Chand was, on behalf of Ranjit Singh, in charge of the expedition, and the army marched up the Jhelum Valley. The alliance, however, broke on the way, as Fateh Khan tried to forestall the Dewan. Though the trick failed, Fateh Khan stuck to Kashmir. In 1813 the Maharajah attempted to oust Fateh Khan, and Ranjit Singh led a forced in person into Kashmir. In this campaign Gulab Singh's regiment played a prominent part. On the advice of Ajar Khan of Rajouri, the Punjab army was divided into two portions, one section proceeding by way of Poonch under Ranjit himself, and the other under Dewan Ram Dyal, the grandson of the great Mokam Chand, by way of Bahramagalla. this division of the invading forces was disastrous, and Ram Dyal's army was cut to pieces by the Governor of Kashmir. The people also rose in rebellion behind the

Sikhs. Gulab Singh and his company escaped with difficulty. In these perilous circumstances Gulab Singh showed the greatest courage in reassembling his forces and bringing them back safely. His father, Main Kishore Singh, was wounded in this campaign. Ranjit Singh was greatly pleased with Gulab Singh's achievement, and gave him as jagirs Kharoti and Beyol and promoted him in his command. At this time Main Mota, the brother of Zorawar Singh, was murdered at Jammu through the intrigue of the Sikh Governor, and this event had a great influence on the career of Gulab Singh. We have already mentioned how the ambitious Rani Bindral had tried to take in her own hands the management of Jammu. The great hindrance to her plans was her uncle-in-law, Main Mota Singh, who wielded great influence in the area. In 1812 Prince Kharrak Singh, the eldest son of Ranjit Singh, to whom Jammu was allotted as jagir, came to the knowledge of Ranjit Singh he ordered that the government of Jammu should be carried on in consultation with Mota Singh, and that he should be given a Jagir bringing an annual income of Rs.12,000. This displeased the Rani greatly. When Kharrak Singh returned to Lahore he left Dewan Ajit Singh, Khullal of Gujarat, as Governor. The Rani, nothing daunted, intrigued with the Dewan, over whom she acquired great influence, and persuaded him to order the assassination of Main Mota. This dastardly act was entrusted to two bravos, Traho and Sutro, who waylaid the main and murdered him.

One day, on their way to the Durbar at Lahore, Gulab Singh and Dhyan Singh encountered the murderers by the Bhati Gate and killed them in broad daylight. This action of the brothers caused a great sensation in Lahore, especially as these bravos were known to be under the protection of Prince Kharrak Singh. When Gulab Singh arrived at the Durbar the

guards insisted on his surrendering his arms, which he refused to do. But Ranjit Singh took no notice of the incident, merely remarking that Gulab Singh should be more careful of his life. As he feared vengeance against the brothers, Ranjit Singh took care to put Dhyan Singh under Jamadar Khushal Singh, the famous Deorhi Officer or Chamberlain, who was at the time the most powerful personage at the Lahore Court. Gulab Singh continued to rise in favour at the Lahore Court. At the siege of Jullundur he distinguished himself greatly, and was as a reward given additional jagirs of Chohana and Ramgarh. He was also empowered to raise as his own a company of 200 soldiers. This was the first force which owned Gulab Singh as its master. Ramgarh was reduced after some fighting, and Main Zorawar Singh, with the family, took his permanent abode there.

It 1815 Reasi, which is an important district in the proximity of Jammu, was awarded by Ranjit Singh as jagir to Main Dewan Singh. Dewan Singh was the mortal enemy of Gulab Singh, and was one of the prime movers in the murder of Mota Singh. The ambitious chief, who dreamed of uniting all the hilly country over which his ancestor ruled into one State, naturally disliked the grant of Reasi to his enemy. As Dewan Singh was in the plains, Gulab Singh forestalled him and took possession of the area and put Wazir Zorawar Kalhoria, who was destined to earn undying fame as the conqueror of Ladak and Tibet, in charge of its defence. But his rival was a person of courage and influence. Dewan Singh had a large body of supporters, and at their instigation the whole district rose against Gulab Singh's unauthorised action. Zorawar was hard pressed in the fort but the courage, fortitude, and resourcefulness which later on enabled him to conquer Ladak and Baltistan and lead an army into the heart of Tibet were not to be shaken by a local siege. He held the town in spite of all that the enemy could do.

When Kishore Singh heard of the plight of the garrison at Reasi he sent a few servants to Jammu to inform Gulab Singh of the position. Gulab Singh was away in Lahore, but Dewan Amir Chand, the father of Dewan Jwala Sahai, who figures greatly in the later events of Gulab Singh's life, was in charge of affairs at Jammu, and he took up the matter with all expedition. There was no money in the treasury and there were no troops at his command. He tried to enlist the support of the Rajputs of the locality, but they, envious of Gulab Singh's rising position, held back. Amir Chand, however, was not a man who easily lost hope. He borrowed money from a merchant in Jammu, collected as much arms and ammunition as he could, and marched on Reasi. He had only forty men with him, but the Dewan obtained recruits on the way by producing a letter which he declared he had received from Gulab Singh to the effect that he would soon be coming himself and that he was in greater favour than ever at Lahore. With his followers thus increased he reached Reasi and relieved the garrison.

Almost within six years of his taking service in Lahore, Gulab Singh had become an important grandee. He was in possession of many estates granted to him as jagir in recognition of his meritorious services, and he was among the few noblemen entitled to maintain a regular force of their own. Rajah Dhyani Singh also had advanced greatly in the favour of the Lahore Durbar. In all the campaigns that the Sikh King carried on at this time Gulab Singh played a prominent part. Especially at the siege of Multan, in 1819, his personal bravery attracted Ranjit Singh's favourable notice. During the siege, which was conducted under the supervision of Ranjit Singh, one of the Sikh sardars fell dead at the very foot of the fort. The besiegers were being subjected to heavy cannon fire, and Ranjit Singh, who was fond of the

dead sardar, commanded his officers to ride to the spot and bring back the dead body. No one ventured except Gulab Singh, who, without a word, rushed forward to the amazement of the whole army and brought back on his horse the body of his dead comrade.

In the frontier campaigns of Ranjit Singh between 1815 and 1820 Gulab Singh played a prominent and noteworthy part. The most important among them was the campaign against the tribe of Yusuf in 1819 which enabled Ranjit Singh to acquire Peshawar. In 1819 Dhyan Singh was made Deorhi officer, of Grand Chamberlain, when Khushal Singh was sent as Governor of Multan. This appointment gave Dhyan Singh great influence over the Maharajah. At this time the hilly area behind Jammu was being terrorised by an intrepid chief by the name of Main Dedo. His word was law in the interior, and he even attacked the Sikh garrison, which numbered over 2,000, in the Jammu fort. The local rajput chiefs sympathised with him and afforded no help to the Sikhs. The Sikhs laid hands on some of the leading Rajputs, held them as hostages, and sent them to Sheikhpura to be detained in prison. Dewan Bhavani Das called Juna Dingh, a Rajput chieftain, to Jammu and cut him to pieces on the mere suspicion of having given refuge to Dedo. This was the signal for a general revolt. The whole country behind the Jammu town threw off the Sikh yoke, and Main Dedo placed himself at the head of the popular discontent. His adventures took a more serious turn, and it became clear either that he had to be put down or that Ranjit Singh would have to withdraw to Sialkot.

In open Durbar one day Gulab Singh requested to be entrusted with the duty of putting down this insurrection. Having secured the commission he started without delay, accompanied by Sardar Attar Singh Kallol and Sardar Jagan Nath Singh, of Attari. At his request the

Rajput chiefs held as hostages at Sheikhpura were released. On reaching Jammu he proceeded vigorously to put down the rebellion. The local chiefs surrendered, but Main Dedo continued his depredations. The methods by which he brought Dedo to book were characteristic. It soon came to his notice that Dedo got free supplies in all the villages where he went. The bandit chief used to requisition all that he wanted, and the villagers out of fear obeyed him. It was necessary to stop this if Dedo was to be captured. Gulab Singh hit on a stratagem. He suddenly appeared in some out-of-the-way villages brought the supplies he announced his identity, and punished them for helping the bandit. When this procedure was followed in a few villages Dedo found it difficult to get any supplies, because, when he sent his requisition, the villagers, not knowing whether it was Gulab Singh trying their loyalty or Dedo himself, refused to obey.

After this manoeuvre Gulab Singh marched on Jugti, which was the headquarters of Dedo. The himself was not there, but his aged father defended the place, though he was past ninety. The old man was cut to pieces at the entrance to his house by Attar Singh Kallol. Dedo then took refuge on the Trikuti peak. The peak was surrounded, and in this last extremity Dedo, after committing his wife and children to the care of one Brahmachari, who was in the temple of the Devi, came out bravely to sell his life dear. He encountered Attar Singh, who was responsible for the death of his aged father, and challenged him to open combat. Attar Singh was killed in the fight, but Dedo was immediately shot dead by Gulab Singh's soldiers.

In 1820 Jammu was given to Gulab Singh in farm. Ranjit Singh followed the medieval system of farming out provinces for revenue. Jammu had always been

considered an unruly and difficult province to manage, and when the government of the province was offered to Gulab Singh he represented that it was impossible to collect the revenue, as the place had not been completely subdued. Ranjit Singh therefore allowed him to keep an army of his own and gave him the title of Rajah, and Mian Kishore Singh and Dewan Chand were sent to instal him in his office. This appointment to the government of Jammu should not be confused with the conferment of that principality as an hereditary possession three years later. In 1821 Gulab Singh undertook the conquest of Khistwar. With this object he marched into the interior. On the way he called on Dyal Chand, Rajah of Chenani, to do him obeisance. But as the Rajah would not come, Gulab Singh sent a man to call on him. The Rajah agreed to help in the conquest of Khistwar. The Chenab was crossed and the camp was pitched at Doda. Instead of directly attacking Khistwar he decided first to create political dissension in the State. Rajah Tej Singh, of Khistwar, was a suspicious man, but he was served by an able Minister, by name Wazir Lakhpat. Gulab Singh sent a letter to Lakhpat in the following words: 'I have received your petition and understood the contents. You are ordered to present yourself before me without delay and to discharge the duties entrusted to you satisfactorily, in which case my kindness will always protect you.'

Gulab Singh has taken good care that the latter should fall into the hands of the Rajah and not the Wazir. Not suspecting the stratagem of Gulab Singh, the Rajah imprisoned the Wazir, who, however, escaped to Bhadarwah. Khistwar was conquered, and this was Gulab Singh's first independent province.

Wazir Lakhpat was taken into Gulab Singh's service, and till his death in Kashmir, in 1846, he was one of the

Rajah's most trusted officers. He proved himself loyal to his master, and Gulab Singh sent him on many notable expeditions.

An important expedition entrusted to Gulab Singh at this time was the reduction of Rajouri, which was under the rule of a local Mussulman dynasty of Rajput descent. The Rajah, whose name was Ajar Khan, has given Ranjit Singh more than one occasion for enmity. It was his double-faced advice which brought disaster on Ranjit Singh in his expedition against Kashmir in 1823. Gulab Singh was entrusted with the duty of capturing him, in which he succeeded. These distinguished services to the Lahore Government were rewarded by the Maharajah with the grant to Gulab Singh and his successors of the principality of Jammu, with the hereditary title of Rajah. For this purpose the Maharajah moved in great state to Aknoor. The town of Aknoor is situated at the point where the Chenab debouches into the plain. Placed on the bank of the river, with a magnificent range of mountains as a background, the town presents a most striking appearance. The fort at Aknoor was built at the end of the eighteenth century by Mian Tej Singh, who was feudatory of Rajah Ranjit Deo. Ranjit Singh took up his residence in the fort and made preparation for the ceremony of Rajtilak, or installation.

Gulab Singh, who was away on an expedition in the hills, was summoned to the royal presence. On 4th Ashad, 1879, Ranjit Singh installed him on the Gadi and personally performed the Rajtilak. When marking the saffron on the forehead, Ranjit Singh, instead of marking it upwards, as is the custom, marked it downwards. When a courtier asked him why he had departed from established usage, Ranjit Singh replied: 'I firmly sowed the seed in the soil that it may thrive well, hold its root strong in the earth, and last for ever.' On the same day

he gave to Mian Suchet Singh the jagir of Ramnagar with the title of Rajah. Gulab Singh was surprised that Dhyan Singh, who was then in high favour with the Maharajah, was not given any principality, and requested that, since both he and Suchet Singh had been so honoured, Dhyan Singh also might be granted a jagir. Ranjit Singh was highly pleased with this thoughtfulness on the part of Gulab Singh, and remarked that so far as Dhyan Singh was concerned, he did not propose to award him a jagir, as his intention was to make him a Raja-i-Rajagan, or a 'Rajah of Rajahs.' Gulab Singh was just thirty years old. He had every reason to be proud of his achievements. With nothing but a name, a proud ancestry, and his own talents he had succeeded in getting back his hereditary possession and in being recognised by Ranjit Singh as the Rajah of Jammu. His fame as a warrior had reverberate through the Punjab. He had become an important grandee at the Lahore Court, where his brothers also stood high in favour. Dhyan Singh, through hardly more than twenty-seven, was, next to Aziz-ud-din and Dina Nath, the most influential man in the Lahore Government. He held, besides, the post of Deorhi Officer, which kept him in intimate touch with Ranjit Singh. Suchet Singh was reputed to be the most handsome man in the Sikh army, and he was also equally in favour with the Maharajah.

After the conferment of Jammu, Gulab Singh was sent on an expedition against Azam Khan of Tihri, on the frontier. The army was nominally under the command of Prince Sher Singh, but to him were attached Gulab Singh and Hari Singh Nalwa. The latter was the noblest and the most gallant of the Sikh generals of his time, the very embodiment of honour, chivalry, and courage. His position at the Court was high, and he was the idol of the sikhs. With these two commanders attached to him Sher Singh marched to the frontier. A moulvi by the

name of Khalifa Saidula had roused the religious fanaticism of the tribes, and the campaign was more difficult than was originally anticipated. Immediate victory did not fall to the Sikh army, and the handsome but chicken-hearted Sher Singh proposed to retire. He was, however, dissuaded from this disastrous course by Gulab Singh, whose brothers had also by this time joined the campaign. In 1823 Dost Mohammad, brother of Wazir Fateh Khan, became King of Kabul. The kingdom which he inherited had already lost Multan, Kashmir, Peshawar, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Dera Ismail Khan. The frontier was naturally the scene of further disturbance, and in 1826 Saidulla again raised the standard of revolt.

Sardar Budha Singh, who was in charge of the frontier districts, was sorely tried, and Gulab Singh, who was in Jammu, received orders to go to his help. The Rajah immediately sent his forces under Dewan Amir Chand, and himself joined them later, by forced march, at Peshawar. Hari Singh Nalwa also joined him there. The Pathans, on retreating, had destroyed the bridge at Attock, which made further advance difficult. Leaving the army behind, Gulab Singh crossed the Indus with a very small force and attacked the enemy from behind a hill with only 300 men. While the fray was in progress Hari Singh Nalwa, who was not to be left behind in any act of valour, joined him. The enemy, not knowing the strength of the attacking force, retired. Gulab Singh was wounded in the arm on this occasion. For fifteen days the army halted there. The Sikh chief proposed the erection of entrenchments with a view to defending the position, but Gulab Singh, with superior wisdom, pointed out that in view of the strength of the enemy safety lay for the sikhs in their mobility, and dissuaded Hari Singh from the course which he had suggested. The tribes sought the help of Dost Mohammad, who marched towards the Indus with a large force. Ranjit Singh, who realised the

gravity of the danger, himself arrived at the scene of the operations with the leading nobles in his train. Before any fighting took place, Dost Mohammad's discontented brothers, Pir Mohammad and Sultan Mohammad, put themselves in touch with Gulab Singh. Sultan Mohammad requested a personal interview with Gulab Singh with the object of negotiating for his own safety. An interview was arranged between him and Ranjit Singh, who was well pleased at the collapse of the Afghan invasion. The Sikh ruler accepted the submission of Sultan Mohammad, and agreed to invest him with Peshwar. This proposal made Hari Singh angry, and it was only at the personal intervention of Gulab Singh that Sultan Mohammad was not sent back to his brother. Furious at the desertion of his own brothers, Dost Mohammad marched back to Kabul. In 1825 Gulab Singh made further conquests in the hilly tracts lying in the interior of Jammu. With Dewan Amir chand and Mian Gulab Singh Dhulpatia he took the fort of Samarth and reduced the surrounding country. In the period between 1829 and 1827 Gulab Singh brought under his effective control the numerous principalities lying between the Kashmir Valley and Jammu, except Poonch, which was the jagir of Dhyan Singh; Jasrota, which was given to Hira Singh, and Ramnagar, which belonged to Suchet Singh. Gulab Singh himself conquered Reasi, Khistwar, Rajouri, and Samarth, which with Jammu, formed a very extensive dominion for a subordinate prince.

To the management of his principality Gulab Singh devoted great attention. Other chiefs of the Lahore Court who held jagirs spent most of their time in Lahore in attendance on Ranjit Singh, and depended on their managers for their income—a system that led to great abuses. The managers, not being under the control of their masters, were only concerned to squeeze out of the cultivators as much money as they could, and took no

interest in their welfare. The chiefs were only interested in getting money regularly and the managers only in satisfying their masters and in enriching themselves. Gulab Singh, from the time that Jammu was conferred on him, followed a totally different policy. He stayed mostly in Jammu and appeared at Lahore only when summoned. He took great personal interest in the management of his property and the government of his dominions which, by their hilly nature and by the independent character of their people, called for personal attention.

In this duty he was helped by a family of remarkable men, whose devotion to him and whose ability in his service he rewarded most munificently. This was the family of which Dewan Jwala Sahai, later the Prime Minister of the State and Gulab Singh's plenipotentiary in the negotiation of all confidential matters, was the most important member. Dewan Amir Chand, the father of Jwala Sahai, was the managing agent of Gulab Singh in the Newal Ilaqa, and when Jammu was granted as an hereditary principality in 1823, Amir Chand was made Madar-ul-Maham, or chief Minister, of Jammu. In 1836, when Dewan Amir Chand died, his eldest son, Dewan of gulab Singh. Jwala Sahai had two brothers, Dewan Hari Chand and Dewan Nihal Chand, both of Whom were employed by Gulab Singh in important civil and military capacities.

The Sikh Anarchy

On the 27th June, 1839, Maharajah Ranjit Singh died at the age of 59. A few months before his death his powers had visibly declined and the government of the kingdom was in the hands of Dhyani Singh, the Dewan. Rajah Dina Nath had the control of finance, and Fakir Aziz-ud-Din was the Foreign Minister, but the authority of the State was in the hands of Rajah Dhyani Singh. Ranjit Singh was succeeded by his son, Kharak Singh, an imbecile and a

voluptuary, who was in the hands of his favourite, Chet Singh. This alienated the great officers of the Court, who were not willing to surrender their power to a court favourite. Forgetting their own quarrels, the leading rajahs and sardars joined hands, and on 8th October, 1839, the most important of them, with Nao Nihal Singh, the heir apparent, at their head, forced their way into the palace. Kharrak Singh was tying his turban. Gulab Singh killed the doorkeeper and broke upon the door, though Kharrak Singh tried to lock it from inside. The Maharajah refused to yield up his favourite and held him in his arms, but Gulab Singh tore him away. Chet Singh ran into a dungeon, where Dhyan Singh followed him and killed him.

After this, Gulab Singh left the Lahore Court and went on a pilgrimage to Gaya, returning thence direct to Jammu. The death of Chet Singh had, however, not improved the prospects of his family. Nao Nihal Singh, Kharrak Singh's young son, was an able and ambitious prince, and it was his undisguised object to work the ruin of Gulab Singh and his brothers. He decided to attack Jammu and reduce the too presumptuous subject, who by this time held Jammu, Reasi, Khistwar, Rajouri, and other hill principalities, besides numerous districts given on contract by the Lahore Government. To reduce him was not an easy affair. Nao Nihal Singh realised this and proceeded systematically to concentrate a very strong force at favorable points. On the pretext of preparing for a campaign against Mandi, a large force under General Ventura was concentrated to the east of Jammu. Nao Nihal Singh was compelled, however, to postpone the campaign for a few months owing to Afghan troubles. When these were over, and before he could undertake the campaign, Kharrak Singh died on the 5th November, 1840. But the same day Nao Nihal Singh also died as a result of an accidental fall of an archway under which he

passed on his return from the obsequies of his father. Gulab singh's eldest son, Ootam Singh, rode with the prince and died as a result of the same accident. According to Dr. Honigberger, who was present at Lahore and treated the Prince, Dhyan Singh himself was injured. These facts should dispose of the baseless suggestion of Caunningham that the fall of the archway was not accidental, but was the result of design by the Jammu Rajahs.

The death of Nao Nihal Singh left the Lahore throne vacant. Dhyan Singh favoured Sher Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit Singh, but Gulab singh, Khushal Singh, and Bhai Ram Singh declared themselves in favour of Chand Kour, the widow of Kharrak Singh, who assumed the reins of government with the title of Regent. A compromise was for the time arrangement, and Sher Singh accepted the position of Vice-REgent. Dhyan Singh kept all of from this arrangement and returned to Jammu. From there he negotiated with Sher Singh, who also had withdrawn from the capital. Winning over some divisions of the army, Sher Singh declared himself king and attacked Lahore, where he had been promised support by Dhyan Singh, But the Prime Minister was away in Jammu, and Gulab Singh, who was in the fort, refused to surrender it. Sher Singh had, in fact, calculated without the host. Gulab singh's loyalty to Mai Chand Kour upset all his plans. Sher Singh, who marched on the capital with a large force, was held up in front of Lahore. Gulab Singh advised Mai Sahib to offer resistance, and himself too, command of the forces within the citadel. With him in the fort were Rajah Hira Singh, Attar Singh Sindhanwalla, and Mansul Singh Sindu. The city was put in a state of defence and guns were placed at all the city gates. Gulab singh was indefatigable in his efforts to strengthen the defence, and gave four months pay as gratuity to the garrison. He personally went round to

every post, inspected the garrison, and encouraged them by promises and rewards. This unexpected decision to hold the fort against the army which had gone over to Sher Singh created a difficult situation for that Prince. Sher Singh was now forced to lay siege to Lahore and to declare war against the constituted authority of the State, while Gulab Singh stood forward as the champion of the Sikh Government. Sher Singh, however, found unexpected support in Rajah Suchet Singh and General Ventura, both of whom acknowledged him as King. He had now under his command 70,000 troops. By bribing the gatekeeper, Sher Singh was able to gain access to the city, but Gulab Singh defended the citadel with heroism in the face of vastly superior numbers. The attack began against the Hazuri Bagh Gate. The gate was blown in, but the small force which entered the city was shot down by the Dogra soldiers of Gulab Singh placed behind the gate, and the attack was repulsed. Soon afterwards Sher Singh was forced to withdraw from Hazuri Bagh. Successive assaults were repulsed and Gulab Singh maintained himself in the fort for five days. At the end of the fifth day news arrived that Dhyani Singh was approaching Lahore. He was given a royal ovation by the populace and Sher Singh personally went to receive him at the city gate. Gulab Singh was offered the position of minister under the new regime, he was in no mood to take part in the intrigues of Lahore, and preferred to return to his own dominions. It is said that when he left the fort he carried away with him the accumulated treasures of Ranjit Singh which were there. Sixteen carts were filled with rupees and other silver coins, while 500 horsemen were each entrusted with a bag of gold mohurs. With this vast treasure he returned to Jammu, where his presence was urgently required in support of the Ladak campaign, which was now in full swing.

In 1841 disaster overtook the British arms in

Afghanistan. The garrison at Jalalabad was being besieged, and to relieve it a British force was equipped at Peshawar. The co-operation of the Sikhs was necessary. To obtain this Major Lawrence was sent to Peshwar. His duty was to keep the Sikhs in good humour and to secure from them as much help as possible.

To co-operate with the British expedition which was being organised on the frontier, the Lahore Government very reluctantly deputed Gulab Singh, who was at that time at Hazara. Gulab Singh's position was by no means easy. He knew well enough that the Lahore authorities were not in any way anxious to help the British in their Kabul expedition. At the same time, being gifted with farsighted views in politics, he knew that this was the occasion to secure the firm friendship of the British. He was therefore personally anxious to afford all help, provided it was clearly understood that the obligation was to him and not to the Lahore Government. The position of the British was desperate. They had been driven out of Afghanistan. Their own base was far away and on their line of communication was the Sikh State, whose neutrality, if not help, was essential for success. The Lahore Government was reluctant to afford any help, and this was known to the British authorities. Gulab Singh who knew when not to hurry, also arrived in Peshawar, and struck his tents on the left bank of the river. His orders were 'to march to Peshawar, to coerce all mutineers, and cooperate with the English.' The Rajah, however, encamped on the left side of the river, and the first communication he addressed to Major Lawrence was a mild hint not to proceed by the direct road from Peshawar to Attock as he might be attacked by the Nuseeb battalions. This advice was taken. Gulab Singh, however, managed to put the Nuseeb out of the way, and on the 3rd February, 1842, he moved on towards Peshwar in advance of the British troops. The Rajah took fully ten

days from the Indus to Peshawar, a distance which he had on many former occasions covered in three days.

The original intention of the British Government was to persuade the Lahore Government to send a sikh contingent with them to Jalalabad. Previous to the arrival of Gulab Singh the command of the frontier force was entrusted to General Mehtab Singh, whose attitude towards the British was frankly hostile. When Gulab Singh arrived on the scene he told Lawrence that it was not advisable to take the Sikhs to Jalalabad. In their impatience the British commanders urged on the Rajah the necessity of making an example and of disbanding the battalions which had mutinied. Gulab Singh replied that the Sikhs had already borne him ill-will enough, and that he would not be supported in measures of coercion. In this there was some truth. He naturally asked the British Chief to allow him to proceed in his own manner. To this Lawrence agreed and Gulab Singh set out quietly to undermine the opposition of the Sikhs. Knowing the spirit and temper of the Sikh soldiers, he had no difficulty in dissuading them from active hostilities against the British army in Peshawar. If the sikhs had turned against the British at that time the whole expedition would have ended disastrously. He pointed out to the Sikh soldiers that it was wiser to lead the British to the Khyber Pass and safely across it : that if they were defeated by the Afghans the property they left at Peshawar would belong to the Sikhs, while if they defeated the enemy the Sikhs could claim that it was through their help that the victory was won.

The Chiefs of the Khalsa army appreciated this wisdom. Gulab Singh was thus free to help to British with provisions and advice, and also to send some of his troops with the British army. At this time news reached him of the debacle that had overtaken Zorawar in Central Tibet. He was naturally much grieved at this loss and

sent Dewan Jwals Sahai on the 17th February, 1842, to Lawrence's camp with the request that the news of the disaster should not be made public, as it might cause a mutiny among his own troops. On the 20th February Gulab Singh paid a formal visit to General Pollack. The British commanders were getting tired of the dilatory tactics of Lahore and were determined to use to opportunity to come to some explanation. They received Gulab Singh with full military honours, and after all were scatted Captain Makeson, an officer of 'commanding countenance and stately from uniting the beauideal of the soldier and the diplomatist,' 'advanced through all the preliminaries of courtesy and the exigencies of the situation to the inevitable climax asking for what purpose had the Sikh army been sent to Peshawar and what orders had been received from Lahore.

The British authorities began to think that something could not be had for nothing, and that unless Gulab Singh received and adequate quid pro quo, no help would be forthcoming. Lawrence had already suggested that a consideration should be offered to him. 'In plain terms, he explained, the troops should be paid extra batta, the Rajahs secured in their territory even with additions. He added that 'if Gulab Singh assists the British efficiently they should assist him to get possession of the Valley of Jalalabad, and endeavor to make some arrangement to secure it and Peshawar to his family. These inducements he did not want. He had his own reasons for rendering whatever help lay in his power. More, he secured the neutrality of the Sikh regiments which at one time were actively hostile to the British. General Pollack was therefore enabled to enter the Khyber Pass on the 5th April, 1842.

The British Government sent an appreciative Kharita, dated 8th April 1842, to Gulab Singh, through Mr. Clerk their agent at Lahore, in which they said that

they wrote to him with the pen of love and appreciation. 'We heard from the Chiefs of our army how wisely you planned for the help of our troops and how kindly you rendered this to them... The fruit of the long-sown seed of friendship between us which was concealed for a long time has now come to light.... you who are the flower of the garden of this world.... the most delicious fruit of the tree of hope, we remember your troubles and difficulties in rendering help to our army: we shall never forget that.

The basis of friendship between Henry Lawrence and Gulab Singh was thus well and truly laid. The offer of Jalalabad was renewed, but a condition was made by Lord Ellenborough, the Governor General, that Gulab Singh should give up Ladakh and take the Afghan province in its stead. Gulab Singh was too shrewd a man not to see through this proposal. Ladakh was in the vicinity of his own territories and could not be attacked either by the British or by the Sikhs. He was thus the uncontrolled master of that area which, though barren, was his own by right of conquest. Jalalabad, on the other hand, was far away from his base and could not be held against an enemy. Naturally, he refused the offer and was content with the friendship of the British.

The Lahore Government again fell into anarchy. Mai Chand Kaur died in 1842. Relieved of the fear of usurpation, Sher Singh began to chafe against the authority of Dhyani Singh and sent for the Sindhanwalla sardars, Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh, to Lahore. Sher Singh had no love for the Sindhanwalla chiefs, but he hoped that their influence with the Sikhs would be an effective counterpoise to the influence of Dhyani Singh. but Sher Singh was not the man to follow a consistent policy. He soon alienated his best friends. Lehna Singh was imprisoned, Khushal Singh was not in favour at Court, the Jammu rajahs were greatly in disfavour. The idea that Sher Singh developed was to get hold of Gulab

Singh and his brothers and kill all of them at one stroke. So in 1843 Gulab Singh was summoned to Kangra, where Sher Singh was camping at the time. Though he knew the object, Gulab Singh did not hesitate. Dhyani Singh, on the other hand, sent Hira Singh to Jasrota and went alone. Suchet Singh remained at Lahore. Failing to get all the brothers together, Sher Singh hesitated to act, treated Gulab Singh well and sent him back to Jammu. In 1843 the marriage of Ranbir Singh to the daughter of Rajah Bijai Singh of Seeba was celebrated with great pomp. Ranbir Singh was the third and youngest, and the only surviving, son of Gulab Singh. Gulab Singh married early in life in 1809 a lady from the Rukwal Rajputs. By this lady he had three sons, Randhir Singh, Sohan Singh, and Ranbir Singh. Randhir Singh, as has been said above, died in company with Nao Nihal Singh as the result of an accident. Sohan Singh died young.

Ranbir Singh, born in 1829 at Ramgarh, was at this time only fourteen years old. As a young boy he was adopted by Rajah Suchet Singh, who had no son of his own. He spent his boyhood mostly at Ramnagar, which was the jagir of Suchet Singh.

The whole family gathered at Jammu-alas! for the last time. Rajah Dyan Singh, the wise statesman and the leading Minister of the Sikh kingdom; Rajah Hira Singh, the accomplished courtier and the favourite of Ranjit Singh; Rajah Suchet Singh, reputed to be the most handsome man in the Sikh army, and the numerous dependents of each, all came together on the auspicious occasion. Gulab Singh could well claim that he had laid the foundation of the greatness of each one of them all great and powerful men in the world now. He, the eldest, had squandered the life of the capital, and devoted himself entirely to the welfare of the family. He had raised armies, conquered kingdoms, and laid the foundation of a future greatness for his family such as few could claim.

The occasion was really one for thanksgiving. As soon as the marriage was over a messenger came from Lahore summoning Dhyani Singh. Against the advice of his brother he went. On his arrival he was received graciously by Sher Singh, but orders had already been issued to have him murdered. Dhyani Singh was advised of this by Sardar Ajit Singh Sindhanwalla. The sardars of Sindhanwalla played a double game in this matter. They hated Sher Singh and planned the fall of the Sovereign and Minister at one stroke. For this purpose they persuaded the Maharajah that Dhyani Singh had determined to destroy him and his safety lay in having the Minister assassinated first. Sher Singh believed it and authorised the Sindhanwalla chiefs in writing to get rid of Dhyani Singh. Having plotted Dhyani Singh's destruction, Ajit Singh went straight to him and informed him of the conspiracy and advised him to strike the blow first. Ajit Singh, who was reported to be a bosom friend of Sher Singh, was himself conspiring to get rid of Sher Singh. The next day at the review of troops Ajit Singh shot his Sovereign dead. Lehna Singh, at his devotions. After this dastardly action Ajit Singh mounted his horse and galloped towards Lahore with 300 followers.

Dhyani Singh, who was ignorant of the murder, was driving out at what is now the Badami Bagh when he was met by Ajit Singh and taken to the fort. As they ascended the fort, Ajit Singh, whom the Rajah, who had guessed the details of the tragedy, accused of treason, shot him dead. Thus died Rajah Dhyani Singh, for over fifteen years Prime Minister of the Sikh State. As a statesman he had worked hard and successfully for the maintenance of the independence of the Punjab. He had resisted with all the means in his power the encroachment of the English Agent at Lahore on Sikh authority. On one notable occasion he did not even hesitate to advise Sher Singh against a public interview with the Viceroy. Polished and

courtly, his personality was such as would have made a mark even in the Court of Shah Jehan or Louis IXV. Of his personal appearance, the following description is given by W. G. Osborne, Military Secretary to Lord Auckland: 'Rajah Dheean Singh is a noble specimen of the human race; rather above the usual height of the natives, with quick and intelligent eyes, high handsome forehead, and aquiline features; dressed in a magnificent helmet and cuirass of polished steel, a present from King Louis Philippe of France, he looked a model of manly beauty and intellignece.

As soon as Dhyyan Singh's death was known the partisans of the Jammu Rajahs prepared for war. Hira Singh and Suchet Singh, who were in Lahore, immediately sent round word, and the whole aspect of Lahore changed. It became a city of rival camps. Rajah Hira Singh displayed unexpected calmness of mind on this occasion. He ascended the terrace of General Acitabile's house, and, having seated himself there, sent messages to the several sardars, requesting their immediate attendance. The call was promptly obeyed and the sardars, with their troops, assembled at the foot of Budhuka Awa. Placing himself in front and unsheathing his sword, the young Rajah said: 'You know the traitors have killed our Sovereign, his innocent son, and my brave father, who loved you as much as he loved me. We are deprived of our Sovereign and I am fatherless. I now trust your courage, your patriotism, and your loyalty to our lamented King. Either uphold me firmly or kill me with third sword, as it is better to die with honour than to live in disgrace in the midst of enemies.

The response to this touching speech was immediate. The whole army agreed to follow him. Placing himself at the head of 40,000 troops, Hira Singh marched against the Sindhanwalla chiefs. Suchet Singh

joined him in assaulting the fort, which fell into their hands. Ajit Singh met the fate of the murderer, and Lehna Singh also fell in the fight. The head of Ajit Singh was laid at the feet of the widowed rani of Dhyan Singh who, well content, declared: 'I am now fully satisfied,' then she addressed Hira Singh and said: 'I will tell your father that you have acted the part of a brave and dutiful son.' After this she placed her dead husband's kulgee on Hira Singh's head and calmly ascended the pyre as sati.

After this, Suchet Singh and Hira Singh put Dhuleep Singh on the throne, and Hira Singh became Prime Minister. After the situation had settled down Gulab Singh, who had kept himself out of the intrigues of Lahore, came down from Jammu. He was requested by all to take up the post of Prime Minister. Especially was he pressed by Aziz-ud-Din, the Foreign Minister, who knew that a strong hand would be required to restore order and steer the ship of State through safe channels. But Gulab Singh, who knew the conditions at Lahore, refused to be inveigled into the whirlpool of Sikh politics, and returned to Jammu, taking Suchet Singh with him. He, however, left a body of his troops at Shahbara under Dewan Hari Chand, knowing well that Hira Singh might soon require help. In 950 A.D. Kasemagupta became the king of Kashmir. He was licentious and profligate in his habits, and the only important event of his long reign of about quarter of a century was his marriage with Didda. She was the daughter of king Simharaja, "the lord of Lohara," Presently called the valley of Loharin, comprising the mountain districts immediately adjoining Kashmir on the south-west and now included in the Punch district. From her mother's side, she was a granddaughter of king Bhima Sahi of Udabhandu, whom Alberuni mentions in his list of the "Hindu Shahyas of Kabul" as the successor of Kashmir. Not only did Didda possess lovely looks but also extreme intelligence and

shrewdness. Her personality was indeed so captivating that very easily she came to have a complete way over her husband's mind. It was, therefore, not without reason that Ksemagupta was popularly known as Diddaksema. His copper coins also bore the legend "Da-Ksemaguptade (va)," a contraction of the above name. "It is interesting to note that while the coins of the above type are quite common, those bearing the name of Ksemagupta alone are rare." The fact that her powerful maternal grandfather had built the richly endowed temple of Bhimaktesava as Bumzu near Martand, points to the prominent position held by Didda's family also in Kashmir.

Didda's marriage with Ksemagupta was important from yet another view point; it was as a result of this alliance that at a later stage the Lohara family came to rule over Kashmir as well. But Ksemagupta took another wife also soon after. She was Chandralekha, the daughter of Phalgun, formerly the Lord of the Gate but now prime minister. Naturally, the green-eyed monster in Didda could not put up with all this quietly. Towards Phalgun, she began to harbour great ill-will and held him to no account. Only a spark of discord was needed to set their relations ablaze, and this was provided by Ksemagupta's death which took place in 958 A.D.

In accordance with the prevailing custom, the wives of the late king prepared themselves for immolation. Didda's first impulse also was to immolate herself and Phalgun readily approved of it. But when she was heading towards the funeral pyre she had second thoughts. Seeing her in a hesitant mood, Naravahana, a minister, took pity upon her and "prevented her by persistent remonstrances from seeking death." Rakka, another minister, who did not see eye to eye with Phalgun, also turned to his account this opportunity to

fen the flames of hatred and discord between her and the prime minister. He put into her ears that Phalguna had agreed to her immolation because afterwards he intended to usurp the throne for himself. There were many more high officials of the State who were jealous of the prime minister as he "outshone them all by counsel, courage, energy and other good qualities." Naturally, the atmosphere around Phalguna became very hostile. He also did not fail to perceive it and thought it advisable to retire from the country with a good grace.

No sooner, therefore had Abhimanyu II, minor son of Ksemagupta, been crowned under regency of Didda than Phalguna, along with many of his trusted followers, left for parnotsa or Poonch. But at the instance of Rakka and other enemies of the prime minister, the regent sent royal body-guards to bring him back. This fresh insult inflicted upon Phalguna acted like a red rag to a bull. Enraged and excited, he and his followers retraced their steps and it looked as if they were going to attack their enemies. Consequently, so great was the alarm at the capital that Didda and her supporters began to shake in their shoes. But to their good luck, Phalguna changed his mind and, on reaching the shrine of Varaha (modern Baramulla), laid his sword at the feet of the god. Thereafter, he again set out on his journey towards parnotsa. Learning this, "the ministers rejected as boys when left by their teachers."

But the rejoicings proved to be only temporary and transitory for the regent. Mahiman and Patala were the sons of king Pravagupta's (949-50 A.D.) two daughters who were married to two ministers. As they had been brought up like princes in the royal palace itself, they did not consider the throne out of their reach. A conspiracy was actually hatched by them in collaboration with some influential persons to seize power. But the gaff was

blown and they were turned out of the palace. Later, an attempt was made to banish them from the country itself. Mahiman then took refuge with his father-in-law, Saktisena. They former's supporters also joined him there and their rebellion soon became formidable. On the side of the regent, with the exception of minister Naravahana and his relatives, almost everybody deserted her. The rebels then gathered for a battle in the vicinity of the Padmasavamin temple in Pampur. Didda was indeed in a real soup. In her long career as the virtual ruler of Kashmir, which extended to almost half a century, she was now for the first time put to a great test of forbearance, fortitude and statesmanship. But she rose equal to the occasion and faced the situation very calmly. It did not take her long to realise that Mahiman's main strength lay in the support of the Brahman residents of Lalitapura of Litpur. She also discovered that the Brahmans had a great weakness for money. With plenty of gold, therefore, she easily bought them off and with this the rebellion fizzled out. Later, these very Brahamans brought about a reconciliation between her and mahiman. "Reverence to wealth which possesses such wonderful power!" "The lame queen", Says Kalhana, "Whom no one had thought capable of stepping over a cow's footprint got over the ocean-like host of her enemies, just as Hanumat (Hanuman god) got over the ocean".

The rebellion over, the intelligent regent correctly realised the need to win the powerful supporters also of Mahiman. And in this case again she showed how great a judge of the human nature was she. Knowing that for men of integrity "favours were superior even to gold given in bribes", she bestowed high offices upon many of Mahiman's men, making Yasodhara the commander-in-chief of her army. After some time, when mahiman was left without any following of consequence, she got him

done to death by witchcraft, according to Kalhana, and then "the rule of the widow became undisputed in the land." But soon another serious trouble cropped up for Didda. According to Kalhana, Yasodhara took upon himself the reduction of a neighbouring hill territory, then ruled over by a Sahi ruler named Thakkana. A scholar links the latter with the royal dynasty of Udabhandapura, and opines that "he may not have been the son of Bhimadeva and may have managed to succeed to the throne with the help of the Gurjara-Pratiharas and this would have been the reason why Didda was encouraged to plan an expedition against Thakkana." Whatever the reason, the Sahi ruler was easily defeated and captured. later, when he paid tribute, Yasodhara reinstated him.

The grant of the high office of commander-in-chief to Yasodhara, who formerly belonged to the enemy camp, had been rankling in the minds of those who had all along been the regent's supporters. His absence from Kashmir on the said expedition provided them with an excellent opportunity to work for his 'downfall.' Led by Rakka, they began to din constantly into Didda's ears that Yashodhara was not a sincere and trustworthy man. His acceptance of tribute from Thakkana was presented to her as a bribe taken for reinstating the vanquished foe. As a result of these intrigues, Yasodhara fell from grace and when he returned to his country crowned with laurels, he was served with an order of banishment. According to one scholars, however, yasodhara was punished because of his unauthorised conciliatory policy towards the enemy, which "was actually not desired by Didda as there was no certainty of Thakkana's remaining loyal to Kashmir." The regent's hasty and thoughtless action drove Yasodhara to rebellion in 962-63 A.D. and like the earlier rebellion of Mahiman, this one also proved very threatening. At one stage, when the

rebellions troops had succeeded in penetrating into the capital city, Didda was left alone in her place. All of her important supporters, with the exception of Narvahana and his few followers, had deserted her. her fate then trembled in the balance and anxiety hung like a dark impenetrable cloud over her mind. Not a single moment passed when she did not expect an assault upon the palace and her consequent end. But as luck would have it, the enemy frittered away the time, and when it did attack the next day, she had already mustered some forces. Nevertheless, her position was still very weak, with the result that the royal troops were easily beaten in the first encounter. Driven to bay, they made yet another attempt to retrieve their position and luckily it was attended by a partial success. Finally, when the royal forces were reinforced by the every faithful Narvahana, the tables were completely turned upon the rebels. Yasodhara and some of his supporters were taken prisoners and all of them were mercilessly executed.

The rebellions of Mahiman and Yasodhara convinced Didda that unless the administration was placed in the hands of tested and trusted officials, there could be no peace in the country. A big shake-up was, therefore, planned and therefore, planned and executed. As a result of it, Rakka became the new chief of the army, Sindhu, a son of a litter-carrier, was made incharge of the royal treasury. The services of Narvahana, "the best of minister," were also duly recognised; he was made the chief counsellor and received the title of Rajanaka (literally meaning "almost a king"). Kalhana says the regent queen "slept when he slept, took food when he took it, rejoiced in his joy, and from sympathy felt dejected when he was despondent. When he kept within his house, she was not happy without enquiring about his health, without requesting his advice, and without sending him things of her own."

But Didda failed to stem the rot from spreading. Mutual jealousies and rivalries soon sprang up among the new set of officials too, with the result that the working of the government was again adversely affected. The ascendancy of Naravahana, for instance, became a source of constant irritation to some of his colleagues. Sindhu, one of them, therefore, aroused suspicion in Didda's mind about Naravahana, and made her believe that the chief minister was trying to usurp the royal powers. One day, when naravahana invited her to a feast, Sindhu told her that the invitation was a booby trap for making her a prisoner in the minister's house. The constant dripping had worn away the stone. On the advice of his wicked counsellor, the regent, therefore, politely declined the invitation on the pretext of illness. From then onwards, naravahana was always under a cloud, and the feelings of affection which had till then existed between her and Naravahana gradually ebbed away, and finally the "intrigues produced between them a thorough estrangement such as there is between sesamum and oil cake." Day in and day out, the ungrateful regent inflicted new insults upon him. The depths of his dismay, despair and dejection, therefore, went on deepening till the loyal minister thought of suicide as the only means of his deliverance from the interminable sufferings.

After she thus got rid of Naravahana, Didda resolved to punish the Damras who had been gaining strength for some years in the past. The first to fall a victim to her fury were the sons of Samgrama Damra of Uttaraghosa (the village of Gus in the Uttar Pargana, to the extreme north west of Kamraj). She wanted them to be done to death. But they made their escape to their home place and there killed Kayyaka, the lord of the Gate, and others who opposed them. There was every likelihood of their rebellion turning into a popular rising.

The regent also did not fail to recognise this and her own inability to grapple with the situation. Hence, she "disregarded the shame of humiliation" and hastened to heal the breach with the rebels. The settlement which followed, however, proved to be short-lived and more Damra Chiefs joined the sons of Samgrama. To add to the difficulties of Didda, Rakka died at this critical juncture. She cast her eyes around for a strong man to replace the deceased, but found none. Then she thought of her old minister, Phalguna, who had earlier left for Punch in disgust. Summons were, therefore, immediately sent to him. Phalguna heartily responded to this call, took charge of the administration and, it appears, suppressed the Damra revolt, for we hear no more of them for some time to come.

After a harvest of success, Didda had every reason to be in-expressibly happy. But it is sad that her happiness took a very undesirable form; she chose the primrose path. She was a lady with absolutely no regard for morality. She, "the messalida of Kashmir, was noted for her extraordinary profligacy, rivalling anything that is recorded, of Catherine of Russia." And this is how in the words of Kalhana, she had spent her time immediately after the death of her husband; "The officers, who held charge of foreign affairs, the royal household and other posts visited the queen's bed-chamber without scruples." Now, Phalguna became "The paramour of this dissolute old woman." The foul atmosphere around the court naturally had its repercussions also on the administration of the country, which became lax, corrupt and oppressive. Just at this time died king Abhimanyu. According to Kalhana, his was a natural death," but others suggest that he was poisoned by his mother. In the opinion of one scholar, however, "the former account is most trustworthy, especially as corroborated by the sequel, which represents her as engaged for a year

afterwards, in laying the foundations of cities, and pious and public edifices, in order to dispel her grief." But in the light of what she did to Abhimanyu's successors, we have good reasons to suspect her hand in his death. Abhimanyu was quite grown up and possessed "noble character." He was also "brilliant" in intellect, learned, and "cherished by the sons of learned men and versed in the Sastras." Above all, Kalhana clearly informs us that he was disgusted with his "evil-conducted mother", and had even begun to snap his fingers at her. There is, therefore nothing surprising in the regent, imbued with leaping ambition and unbounded lust for power, should have decided to remove him from her path.

Whatever the facts, Didda felt highly grieved, apparently or in reality, over her son's a loss and, after placing Nandigupta, her grandson, on the throne, she turned over a new leaf and began to perform "astonishing deeds of piety". In her new ways of life she was further encouraged and helped by Bhuyya, the city perfect who was himself a pious man and a brother of Sindhu. The main attention of the reformed lady was, however, devoted to the laying of a number of foundations, especially temples, Mathas, Viharas and towns; and the more important among these were the Visnu temple of Diddasvamin, the towns of Diddapura (location unknown) and Kankanapura (perhaps modern Kangan village, on the right bank of the Sindh), and Didda Matha which has left its memory in the name of Diddamar, now a residential locality in Srinagar, on the right bank of the Jhelum. In all, it is said, "she made sixty-four foundations in different localities," and "Enclosed with stone walls almost all the temples, the surrounding wal's of which had been burned down."

The building of Viharas by Didda shown that Buddhism had not only survived a least until the

eleventh century but also continued to receive royal patronage. There is, however, no doubt that it had already lost its mass appeal. A bronze statue of Bodhistava Padmapani, with six arms, having dhayani budha Amitabha his spiritual ego on his head and two goddesses-Tara and brikuti-on his either side, has been discovered. Made in Didda's time, it is "a conspicuous example of decayed Buddhism." and "tells the struggle of Buddhists to survive against engulfing Brahmanism and Shaktism." The devotional mood of the regent queen, which has seized her heart at the death of her son, and which had raised her in the estimation of her subjects, was however, only pious fraud; and hardly a year had passed when she returned to her usual ways of life. "That unfaithful woman," says Kalhana, "lasting for pleasures," killed her grandson, Nandi gupta, in 973 A.D. by witchcraft. In a similar manner, she also disposed of king Tribhuvana, her another grandson. There then remained her last little grandson, Bhimagupta, and she put him "without hesitation" "on that path of death, which bore the name throne."

Not long after, the prime minister Phalguna died. He had been exercising some restraining influence on the old lady. With his death also disappeared all bars of restraint on her and she began to commit, "hundredfold excesses by open misconduct, infuriated just as female elephant in rut which has torn off its face-covering."

It was in such a mood of beer and skittles that Didda met Tunga. He was a Khasa herdsman who originally belonged to a village in Parnotsa of Punch. Coming to Kashmir, along with his five brothers, he got his foot on the ladder of success when he secured the job of a royal courier. In that capacity, once he appeared before the regent and won her heart at the first sight. "She had the youth brought up secretly by a messenger, and took, as a fate willed, an affection for him, though

she had already many paramours." Her infatuation for the man gradually became so intense that she, 'who knew no shame," poisoned Bhuyya, the city perfect, to death for voicing remonstrance against her conduct. Surely, "Didda was unorthodox and unconventional in certain respects," and "unmindful of calumny and undaunted by opposition, she carried on her amorous affair!" The things then came to such a pass that for their easy advancement, even ministers and other leading men of the country began to act as procurers for her. After four or five years of nominal rule, Bhimagupta "became a little more developed in intellect, and recognised in his mind that the affairs of the kingdom, and his grandmother's way of living were not right..." He, therefore, wished to effect some reforms. But Didda would not naturally allow him do that. Hence, she openly imprisoned him and subsequently tortured him to death. Having thus made a clean sweep of all possible male candidates for the throne, she herself assumed the royal powers in 980 A.D.

The rule of Didda as a full-fledged sovereign lasted for about another quarter of a century. But it was Tunga and not the queen who played the first fiddle in State matters during this period. He and his brothers now filled all the key posts, Tunga himself becoming the prime minister. This fact naturally bred discontentment and disaffection among the old officials, particularly those who have been ousted. As a result, repeated attempts were made to dislodge Tunga. But each time, his valour and Didda's cunning diplomacy wiped the floor.

In the first instance, some of the disgruntled officials hatched a conspiracy against the ruling clique, and invited prince Vigraharaja of Lohara to invade Kashmir. The prince who was the son of Didda's brother, did

come, but realised the futility of an open contest with his rivals. He, therefore, took to diplomacy. In ancient times, if the Brahmans went on a hunger strike in protest against some action of the government, it was considered a very serious matter which could even bring about the downfall of the government. Vighraharaja decided to make use of this weapon and, accordingly, with the help of his local supporters, induced the Brahmans of the chief Agraharas to hold a protest fast against Didda's government. The common people, who were fed up with the corrupt and oppressive administration, also rose on this occasion. Their chief target was, however, not the queen but Tunga whom they wanted to seize and kill.

These developments put Didda on her mettle. Her first anxiety was the safety of her lover. So, she hid him in an apartment of her place. Next, she tried to break the Brahman's fast and easily squared them by offering handsome bribes. Thus were countered Vighraharaja's intrigues and he was compelled to retrace his steps to Lohara. Then followed Tunga's revenge and the punishments of either death or exile were freely inflicted upon the enemies. But before Vighraharaja finally gave up his designs on Kashmir, he made yet another attempt to foment trouble here through his secret agents. The latter persuaded some of the local Brahmans to go once more on a hunger strike. But Tunga found no difficulty in winning over the strikers by the use of silver key. The Lohara agents also were found out. When they tried to get off, one of them was killed while another was captured and cast into prison. Tunga made use of this opportunity to bring to account those Brahmans also who had earlier resorted to a fast and obtained money from Didda for abandoning it. Many of them were put behind bars.

Tunga was next called upon to deal with a refractory

feudatory. Earlier Phalguna had reduced Rajapuri or Rajouri. But now its ruler, Prithvipala, finding Kashmir in a distracted state, declared his independence. To punish him. Didda sent a large force from Kashmir. This force was, however, divided into two sections and each followed a different route. Knowing nothing about the Kashmir strategem, Prithvipala marched at the head of his whole army, came face to face with one section of the invaders in a defile, and easily put them to rout. But in the meantime, the other section of the Kashmir army, led by Tunga himself and his brothers, entered the town of Rajouri without any resistance. It put the town to fire and then, through a surprise attack, made a matchwood of Prithvipala's force and compelled him to pay tribute. Tunga's pluck and dash thus brought him a grand victory and when he returned to his country, the grateful queen made him the chief of the army. He was already the prime minister. The new conferment therefore, made him the most powerful grandee in State.

The closing years of Didda's rule were disturbed by a rising of the Damras. This too was suppressed by Tunga "with the courage of a lion" and many of them were put to the sword. Before the queen went to her long last sleep in 1003 A.D. she had nominated Samgramaraja, son of Udyaraja, her brother and the ruler of Lohara, to succeed her. She made his selection from among her numerous little nephews after putting them through their paces. All of them were assembled at a place, a heap of apples was thrown before them, and it was announced that whoever gathered the maximum number of these would be made the heir-apparent. Not only did Samgramaraja emerge successful, but to the great surprise of all the onlookers, he was also unhurt in the scramble while every one of his rivals sustained some injury. Thus we see that Didda's masterful personality

dominated the politics of Kashmir for nearly half a century, first as the chief queen of Ksemagupta, next as the regent of her son and grandsons, and finally as an independent queen. It has rightly been said that she was "a remarkable woman in many ways." She was a beautiful lady, with charming features but one physical defect-she was lame. But her physical handicap did not deter her from playing contain games for which she had a great fondness; on such occasions she was carried about on others' back. She was also courageous, self willed and full of determination. Never did she loose heart; she kept her nerves even during the most trying times. She was not only intelligent but also shrewd and a good judge of the human nature. It was only for a brief period that she showed a religious bent of mind, otherwise most of her time was spent in cruel, ruthless and unscrupulous deeds and detestable vices. She was uncommonly voluptuous, profligate and dissolute. Her lust for power was also limitless and so was the case with here suspicious nature. There is, therefore, nothing surprising if her rule was characterised by "petty politics, intrigue, treachery, cruelty, debauchery and murder." She "misgoverned the unhappy for half a century." But it shall have to be conceded at the same time that while in the subsequent history of Kashmir we come across many rulers who were no less guilty of moral and other lapses, there was none as competent and able ad Didda was. In spite of her all shortcomings, she was able to ward off trouble which appeared again and again, and maintained the autocratic hold over the country unimpaired for an unusually long period. This shows that she was gifted with high political and diplomatic talents. Her ability as a statesman of high order is further attested to by her peaceful and undisputed transfer of power to a new dynasty of Samgramaraja-the Lohara dynasty.

APPENDIX

On July 15, a set of 18 letters written by Mahatma Gandhi, dealing with the themes of Hindu-Muslim unity and nonviolence, were purchased for the nation when they were auctioned by Sotheby's in London. The letters were written between 1918 and 1924, at the time of the Khilafat movement, to Maulana Abdul Bari, an Islamic scholar and founder of the Jamiat-e-Ulemai-e-Hind. A good part of the correspondence deals with plans for joint Hindu-Muslim demonstrations in support of the movement. The Ali brothers, Shaukat Ali and Mohammed Ali, who led the Khilafat movement along with Gandhiji, were the Maulana's disciples.

The collection also contains four letters in Urdu, some of which are in the original and some are copies, from Motilal Nehru to Maulana Bari, as well as two letters from Jawaharlal Nehru to the Maulana.

While five of Gandhiji's letters in the collection were in his own hand, several others were written by his secretaries and signed by him. Some letters were written and signed on Gandhiji's behalf by his secretaries. Several of the letters have also been translated into Urdu, either for or by Maulana Bari.

The letters were put up for auction by the Maulana's descendants settled in the United Kingdom. As on previous occasions when letters by the Mahatma were put up for sale, the Indian Government was anxious to acquire them and add them to the existing collections of Gandhiji's correspondence in various museums and archives. However, the Government was unwilling and unable to purchase them directly. An outright purchase by the Government was not feasible as it involved administrative questions such as where the funds should come from. Besides, officials were concerned that if the

Government made it known that it was willing to buy all correspondence by Gandhiji, then hordes of other Gandhi letters would come into the market at inflated prices.

The problem of acquiring the set of letters and bringing them to India without direct government involvement was solved by Dr. L.M. Singhvi, India's former Indian High Commissioner in the U.K. Singhvi, who was present in London, used his contacts with nonresident Indian businesspersons and raised the funds for the purchase from two millionaires, G.K. Noon and Nat Puri. Apart from the bidder who acted on behalf of Singhvi, there was one more bidder. Although Sotheby's had suggested a price between £10,000 and £15,000 the competitive bidding raised the price to £118,000.

Singhvi is a veteran in the purchase of Gandhi letters and memorabilia. He was involved in earlier purchases of a letter written by Gandhiji on the subject of *khadi* and a copy of *Bhagvad Gita* that belonged to the Mahatma. Two years ago Singhvi was involved in the prevention of the sale of a collection of drafts of letters written by the Mahatma, which were in the possession of one of his secretaries, V. Kalyanam. This was done after doubts were cast on the legal right of the secretary to sell the drafts. That collection was eventually handed over to the Indian Government and is now with the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

In the present case, there are no doubts about the legality of the sale. The sellers were the descendants of the Maulana, to whom the letters had been addressed, and had title to the letters. As Dr. Peter Beale, an expert at Sotheby's, said, the sale that was attempted two years ago related to the drafts of letters that had been retained by someone who had no clear title; this time, the sale related to letters that had been sent by post to a recipient, whose family members were now selling them, as they had a right to do so.

Interestingly, while the recipient of such letters from the Mahatma have the right of ownership to the letters, the copyright for all such letters rests with the Navjivan Trust in Ahmedabad. Under the terms of Gandhiji's will, the copyright for all his written works, published and unpublished, went to the Trust which he founded. This means that owners of letters or anything else written by Gandhiji cannot reproduce them for monetary benefit.

Singhvi said that the letters would probably be given to the Nehru Memorial Museum in New Delhi to be added to its collection of Gandhiji's correspondence. The letters were in poor condition and needed expert archival care if they were to last, he added.

The letters deal with Gandhiji's attempts to build a common Hindu-Muslim front through the Khilafat movement. They also reveal the Mahatma's disappointment in the failure of his ideal of nonviolence to take root. In one letter written in 1922 after Gandhiji forced to call off the civil disobedience movement when it degenerated into violence, he writes: "I am disappointed because I have come away (from Delhi with a majority that has no faith even the policy of nonviolence ... I feel toughly helpless ... that our opponents magnified our violence and terrorised is only too true, but we expected no more from them, and no less. Hindus are as Mussalmans, but unfortunately as both are weak our policy depends on the cooperation of both..."

He goes on to say: "I am clear that aggressive activity must be stopped. Our ranks must be purged of all undesirable elements. If really as a result of our experience we have come to the conclusion that it is impossible to control the mass violence to convince the majority of our country men of the necessity of remaining non-violent, we may revise our programme, but would

be suicidal to delude ourselves into the belief that we are following the policy, of nonviolence when we are not."

He asks the Maulana for suggest tolls C ways to re-establish a non-violent programme. "Please think over the matter a let me know what can be done. If we a re-establish a nonviolent atmosphere v must be able to work out the constructive~ programme laid down."

In other letters, Gandhiji discusses his plans for civil disobedience, and his various travels to settle disputes, such as a visit to Hoshangabad to settle a "cow sacrifice dispute". In one letter written in 192 1, he asks the Maulana to come to Bombay (Mumbai) to help quell the rioting that ha~ broken out. "Crowds (are) out of control (and) internal strife (is) proceeding," E writes. In a letter from jail, Gandhiji writes that he was "enjoying himself" in "this abode of freedom".

He also suggests that the road to Hindu-Muslim unity is through the spinning of *khaddar*. "I have come to the conclusion that the only conclusive demonstration of Hindu-Muslim unity is the universal adoption by them of the spinning wheel ... *Khaddar* cannot become unoversal without both the great community,' taking it up from the very commencement of the struggle we have been wanting boycott of foreign cloth... For me the spinning wheel and *Khaddar* have a deep religious significance because it means Hind and Muslim sympathy for the poor people who are dying today from hunger and cli ease. The *Khaddar* programme is therefore the greatest and surest I can foresee to the country."

Routes of Ancient Kashmir

The roads in ancient Kashmir were not the same as we see these today. Traffic was carried on through rivers and water ways. There were of course thorough fares along which ponnies, bullocks, palanquins and elephants could pass. Villages were jinked by means of foot paths. During the 16th century under Mirza Haidar Dugulat the streets of Srinagar were paved with cut stones. Popular avenues ran from the east to the south of Srinagar.

"Great mountain" barriers, says Kalhan, "had great bearing on the future history of the Valley. These served as great protecting walls. Our land was unconquerable by force of arms". The Chinese travellers, Hiuentasang and Oukong who visited the Valley described the difficulty in crossing the mountains. Alberuni testifies to the same and says that watch stations were maintained at all these passes. An officer with a small contingent of troops was stationed at these places to exercise strict watch over the passes. Nobody was allowed to enter or leave the passes without special pass and permit, 'Khati Rah' "Before the Christian era" says Alberuni, 'only the jews were allowed to enter the Valley". During the medieval times the feudal chiefs were responsible for gaurding these routes. The fortified posts were known as Rehdari Chowkis. Those who were allowed to enter had to have a pass called Parvana Rehdari. It also served as an important check on unauthorised emigration. This system continued up to the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the second

Dogra ruler. These watch stations are still existent on these passes and the principle routes which lead to the Valley and the neighbouring territories are referred to the indegenious literature and also in the accounts of foreign travellers. Trade and commerce were carried on with other countries through these routes.

The most notable and important route to ancient Kashmir was the Bahsala. The Banihal range runs 35 miles from the east to the west and continues 50 miles after attaining an elevation of 15,524 feet from the sea level from the peak called Tratkut. This route was convenient for communication with Jammu and Himachal Pradesh. A great fort was built at Banihal which existed at the time of Kalhan and was known as "Bansala Castle". Here a pretender Bashkisara was captured and killed when he tried to invade the valley. Banihal is the only all-weather route across the pir panchal range. It was remodelled by Dr. A. Mitru under Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1922, when it was opened to the public. It is at present National Highway.

After proceeding a little further there is a very perilous route which is crossed through a great height of 14,000 known as the Budil pass or the Saidov pass. It connects Srinagar with Akhnoor and Sialkot in the Punjab. It is maintained even now as a track but owing to its shortness it was formerly a favourite route with Kashmiris. Saidov is the first village on the Kashmir side, two miles south of Shopian. Beyond it lies the Darhal pass. About five miles to the north of this pass, we reach the lowest dip of the ranges in the South-West of Shopian at a height of 14,000ft. This is the oldest route known as "old Moghal route" -It was a prominent route since ancient times and connects the valley with rest of the Indian subcontinent. At its opening a great town was built by king Awanti Verman's minister, Sura, in the

ninth century which is called Hure-pur now. While crossing the pass the king lost 101 elephants and the whole mountain therefore is called Hasvan. He brought 50,000 Brahmans from Gandhara and settled them in the valley. He was a follower of Shiva. The Mughal rulers often used this route for their visit. Mr. Bernier, the first European traveller to Kashmir accompanied Aurangzeb through this route. The Mughal rulers built inns at various places along this route. Prophet's holy relief 'hair' was brought to Srinagar by Abdullah Ishbari in 1699 A.D. Maharaja Ranjit Singh tried to invade the valley in 1814 A.D. though this route but his attempts were foiled by the Afghan defenders.

It was the ancient salt route through which salt was imported into the valley from the Punjab salt ranges. Many of the present villages on the way have existed for centuries. Thus Rajuri, Baharam Gull were important for providing refuge to those who fled from Srinagar on account of political troubles.

Proceeding further west along the same range we find another important route known as the Tosa Maidan Road. There are three more passes adjacent to it namely Sanga Safed, Nurpur, Corgali; all of them difficult to cross. Only the Tosa Maidan route was an important line of communication. Owing to its natural advantages it was the shortest and the safest route to Poonch connecting the valley with the Punjab. Mohd., of Gaznavi tried to invade Kashmir through this route in company with Al-Beruni but failed to reach Kashmir in 1021 A.D. At times when the Mughal route was closed on account of heavy snow the Tosa-Maidan route was closed on account of heavy snow the Tosa-Maidan route was used. If Al-Beruni is to be believed, brisk trade was carried on along this route. Some sort of communication must have existed between Kashmir and South India. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was

successful when he attempted to invade Kashmir in 1819 A.D. The portion of Sikh army led by him in person safely reached the Tosa Maidan plateau. Its importance has also been mentioned by Kalhana in his chronicles. The route started from the mountains of Berue where there was a watch station and custom chowki which existed upto the 19th century. Ruined towers of the fort are still extant. Then the chief and the most notable route was through the Jhelum valley known as the Varamullah-Gandhar route. The route served as a royal route under the Kushans but in medieval times this route was rendered difficult on account of the hill-men known as Khokhas and Bombas, who often raided Baramullah and Srinagar. After the conquest of Kashmir by the Sikhs of the Punjab, they erected the forts and brought these turbulent tribes under control. Their last raid on Srinagar was in 1856 A.D. Huein Tsang, the Chinese scholar and traveller, entered the valley through this route and was received by the King of Kashmir at Baramullah Ushkar in 631 A.D. The route was difficult and risky owing to the narrow valley with difficult ravines. The route attained eminence under the Afghans who ordered its remodelling thereby affording the shortest and the least exposed line of communication between Kabul and Kashmir, when the latter was under the control of Kabul rulers. Kalhan calls it, the 'Gandhara route'. The route started from Varamull. Lalitaditya led expeditions to central Asia through this route. During the Afghan and Sikh rule the route had commercial and military importance. Close to Baramulla there stood once a watch station where a strict check was exercised over the persons on entering or leaving the valley. The village is still known as Dranghabal. During the Buddhist rule various viharas were built on the route, such as at Kitsam and Khadanyar villages where travellers and pilgrims could stay. During this period there was a constant

movement of people from central Asia to Kashmir via this route. Kalhan mentions that Avantiveman's son led an expedition to Hazara through this route and was killed on the way. Alberuni gives a detail description of this route in his 'Kitabul Hind' and says this was the best known entrance to Kashmir.

With the dawn of present century, the Jhelum valley road was built and opened for wheeled traffic. The road was joined with Murree at Kohalo 132 miles from Srinagar and was life line of the valley up till the opening of Banihal cart road in the year 1922, when it was thrown open to the public. After 1947 when the subcontinent of India was partitioned, the major portion of the Road came under the control of Pakistan and is therefore closed these days beyond Uri 70 miles from Srinagar pending the settlement of Kashmir dispute.

Along this route there was another which connected the valley through the Kajrag peak to the upper Kishen-Ganga. Pt. Kalhan calls this route 'Sharda route'. The territory between the Kajrag and the Kishen-Ganga was a tributary to the ruler of Kashmir. There stood on the Kishen Ganga an ancient Shrine of the Goddess Sharda. Pilgrims from the valley and other parts of India often used this route to pray at Sharda. Colonies of Afridis were settled to guard the passes. Proceeding along the east there ran one more important route which connects the upper Kishen Ganga with the valley. It started at Bandipora, in the Matrigam, village, known as the Gurais road leading to Atsore. Gilgit and Baltistan. The road was improved by the British engineers during the 19th century and was called the 'Gilgit transport road' crossing the range of Tragbal about the sea level and Razdhani pass. Pt. Kalhan refers in several passages to the hill forts built during the ancient times which guarded the mountain routes leading to the valley from

invasions of the Dards. The watch station and the fort was known as Dud gutta and was incharge of Canpaka, father of our master historian Pt. Kalhan in the reign of Harshdev. Oukong, the Chinese Scholar traveller, who visited the valley in 759 A.D. calls it the 'Gate of the North. In ancient times this route must have served as a second line of communication with China and central Asia. Beyond this route in the eastern range called Harmukh there is a pass known generally by its Tibetan name Zojila. It was an important thoroughfare in connecting the valley with Ladakh, Tibet and Sinkiang. Pt. Kalhan calls it 'Bhautta land route'. It was through this route that Zalju the Monghol, invaded Kashmir in 1318 A.D., in whose time only eleven families have survived in Kashmir. This route is important because it is through this route that in the beginning of 14th Century, the son of Ladakhi chief Lachen Gayaldu, Rinchan the first Muslim ruler, brought the downfall of the Hindu empire in Kashmir. Mirza Haider Daghalat, with his small force entered the valley in 1532 A.D. and established his rule, which lasted for more than a decade. This route must have played a great part in the political, cultural and commercial intercourse between Tibet and Kashmir. Then in the South there was one more route connecting the valley with Kashtiwari. This route never played any important role in foreign relations, or trade except during the rule of pathans, when it served as an exit for the inhabitants of the valley during famines. This route is known as Marbal route. After crossing the pass Wardwan and Chinab are crossed by bridges under construction these days. The route is generally closed in winter due to heavy snow-fall.

At Gurais on Gilgit transport road, there is one more route which leads across Kamri pass to Astor and Gilgit. At Burzul, the last halting place on this side of watershed two roads part, the one leads to North East across Deosai plateau to Skardu.

Rivers of the valley

Description of the valley is not complete unless some mention is made of its useful river Jhelum known as Hydaspes of the ancient Greeks and Bidaspas to Ptolemy, corruption of the Sanskrit name Vitasta to our ancient, Behat to medeaval Sultan and to us as Vyath derived from Vithavutur. Vyath our word for Jhelum, is the direct phonetic derivation of the ancient Sanskrit Vitasta i.e. The name Jhelum is of Muslim origin as Alberuni call it Jhelum implying slowness. Shrivar when relating an expedition of Sultan Haider Shah into the Punjab Sanskritizes this name into Jyalami. Another version connects the river Jhelum with the place Vithavutur, a small village one mile north-west of Vernagh. When it leaves Baramullah it is called Kashur Darya and after the distance of 80 moles at Domel it drains Neelan the northern rivers of Kashmir basin in Gurais, Telail and Skardu. It is spoken as Jhelum river.

Vernag is the reputed source of Jhelum, and the blue waters give life to the valley. It is the spring of the Ver which is the name of the pargana called Shahabad from the days of shahjehan. The spring was orginally a shapeless pond and water oozing out from different places in it, spread about and formed a little marsh. Jehangir built the Octagonal tank of Sculptures. It it ten feet deep and was constructed in 1612 A.D. To the Brahamins of the valley it is sacred and is known as Nila Kund or Nilanagh. From Vernag to Khanabal spring water flows into a small stream to 16 moles where a hen can cross at some places. It is the Lidder from the lake Sheshnagh flowing through the Pahalgam valley which branches off into several streams and forms parganas of Dachhanpur and Khovarapur and meets Jhelum at the village Gur below Khanabal Sandran, a small stream flows from Brang valley, the Arapat stream from Kothar Kukarnagh and Achabal spring water join the river just

near and above Khanabal. From Khanabal to Baramulla the river becomes navigable for fifty four miles. Further north the "Jhelum behaves like a clever financier building its capital on the wealth of other. The river Jhelum is a tributary river par-excellence". Further down on the right bank the river receives a channel water of the great Arapalnag at Charsu village near Avantipur, and catchment areas of wastervan hills and the mountains above Tral, At Pampur a small amount of water from irrigation channels of Khrew and Balahom villages falls into the river above Joinerry mills. In the city Jhelum is joined by a stream which drains the lake to the east of the city. The lake is Dal, which is fed by the plentiful streams and springs of the Mahadev and Zabervan hills. The Water flows out towards Jhelum by a canal which is Tsunthkul. The canal passes through embankment called sathu Sadiqazi which protect the old city and low shores of the Dal from floods of the river. The bund was originally built by king Parversen in 7th Century from Drugjan to Kralkhud Habbakadal and again it was raised by Mohd Qasim. Qazizada, a poet in the Moghal court. The lock gate of the Dal lake was built in 1938 A.D. afresh at Drugjan. Tsunth Kul joins Jhelum at Dubjit Ghat, Gow Kadal opposite to the old secretariati building. The Dal water flows through Koshal sar and anchor lake and joins at Shadipur. At Gow Kadal, Jhelum branches off to the left side and is known as Kutakul which rejoins the Jhelum river at watal Kadal and Chachbal through Nawabazar and S.M.H.S.Hospital Srinagar through its one more branch known as Sonar Kul and passes through sayyed Monsor Ziyarat.

The Sind river joins at Shadipur the place of marriage of the two rivers. It is an important tributary of the Jhelum. The traditional source of the sind is the sacred lake known as Gangabal town. The Sind also enters Anchor lake near Ganderbal. After passing in the

Wular lake Jhelum receives water of Modimuti river near village Kalos Bandipur and from various channels of Harbuji, Arrah, Erin-Nullahs in the east of Wular lake. The Wular is the largest fresh water lake in India 10 miles long and 6 miles wide. The Jhelum river leaves it in the west near Sopur which is a typical delta town formed by siltation. The river becomes shallow and sand banks appear in the river bed obstructing navigation. It is only in spring that rainfall causes the snow the melt at higher elevation in the surrounding mountains and causes floods. The river Jhelum is therefore blessing and a curse too. Below Sopur at Doabagh village it receives the Pohru Nullah which drains the Lolab and Kamail streams, Ramahal and Mawar areas in Handawara and Kupware Tehsils.

On its left bank it receives the drainage of western mountains like Vishov. It is an important tributary fed by the lake Konsarnag. It joins the river below Sangam Bridge after irrigating Kulgam area which is the granary of Kashmir. Aharabal waterfall lies in this area. The Rambiar is another tributary from the Pir-pass. In its upper course logs of timber are floated down in the stream.

Romushi is another tributary of the Jhelum. It flows from Kharmarg and becomes a river at Pakherpur. The Sukhnag collects drainage from the neighborhood of Gulmarg and its environs. Dudganga flows from Ludermarg in a centre of pirpanchal near Tratakuti. It flows to the south of Srinagar and the Forazpur Nullah in the western mountains of the Baramullah, Gulmarg area with many spring and ice and the Apharwat, Khilanmarg, Ala pather, Gagrimg, Banilmarg and Kantirnag. The Sukhnag and Ferozpur streams lose themselves in the large marshes under the banks of Jhelum and Ningle which flows into the Wular Lake. Of

these streams the Pohru, Sind and Vishov are navigable for a short distance.

Most of the internal trade in the valley was carried by the river Jhelum and its tributaries. That from ancient times the boats were the principle means of transport and travel is shown by the frequent references to river journeys, boats and boat bridges and ghats are landing places in the chronicles of Pt. Kalhan. This continued upto the beginning of this century when wheel traffic was introduced and Jhelum valley road was opened. Boat men were engaged whose number was 3400 in 1891.

Dr. Bernier says that there were only two wooden bridges spanning over the Jhelum river. Forestor another traveller in 1783 to Kashmir when it was ruled by Afghan ruler Azad Khan there were five bridges on the Jhelum river. The first bridge on the cantilever principle was built by Sultan Zainulab-ud-Din. There is a mention of boat bridges in existence before Muslim rule in Sharaf-ud-Din Yazdi's Zaffar Nama.

Jhelum is generally silted up between Doabgah and Khadanyar villages below Barmulla. The waters of Pohru Nullah creates obstacles in the flow of water and large areas of cultivable land in Sopore and Sonawari Tehsils remained submerged during the whole Summer season. The state Government has recently employed electrically worked dredgers through which silt and other obstruction from the river bed are removed and danger of floods in upper reaches has been lessened. Much land has now been reclaimed around the Wular Lake. This has been done on the advice given to the State Government by Dr. Uppal, irrigation engineer Govt. of India who visited the area in the early fifties. There is a passage in Sanskrit in Rajtarngni which brings out that when King Kalash who was staying at Vijayeswara wished to pass his last days at the temple at Mattan, he was carried by

the water route in boats along with his ministers to the nearest ghat or landing place at Khanbal, Anantnag.

Capitals of the country were built on the banks of Jhelum. All produce of the country was brought to great centre by water. Villages had the regular places of landing :- Yarbhal on the river of the nearest navigable water way. Most of the capitals and important towns were situated on its banks. One of the main capitals was that of Srinagar. The rulers of Kashmir were eager to have their capitals on the banks.

Srinagar, the city royal is an "emerald set in stone" is one of the oldest cities in India and its present name is Srinagar. During the Muslim rule it was called Kashmir or locally Shahari Kashmir or Kashir and Alberuni notes that the city of Kahmir covers a space of four farsakhs. But when the Sikhs conquered Kashmir in 11819 A.D. they restored the old name Srinagar, which was originally Shrinagari founded by Asoka in the third century B.C. on the banks of Jhelum.

Old Srinagar

kalhana, who lived in the beginning of the twelfth century, mentions in his Rajtarangni the city of Srinagar, a city in the south-east of modern Srinagar, most probably situated near the present- Pandrethan-, he calls it " puranadhistan" on the banks of Jhelum. It was in the third century B.C. that Ashoka the Maurayan emperor, built this city. It was the capital of Kashmir up to the 6th century. A.D.. In the neighborhood of this city his son. Jalauka, built a grand shrine called Jyestharudra, which is at present Zeethyair Tirtha. But Dr. Stien an eminent indologist, believes it the present Shankera Acharya Temple. Kalhana credits Ashoka with the construction of 6,000 dwelling houses, resplendent with prosperity, in this city. While the city was under construction, he also built stupas and Viharas in

Hukhalitr and Vithvotr, villages at present in Beru and Shahabad Doru Tehsils.

Medeaval historians of Kashmir namely Haider Malik of Chodur and Mohd. Azam, Diddamari mention that the old Srinager which king Ashoka is said to have built is present Sir now Sir Kanli Gund, on Anantnag Pahalgam road mile 44 on the left bank of Lidder stream in Khovarpur pargana. To this tradition refers probably Prof. George Buhlar, "Some pandits of the valley also think that it lay near Islamabad" This theory is not correct now.

The site of the present Srinagar was selected by Parversena II who called in Pervarpur between or Parversenpur which was shortened to Pervapur. Nagara means the city and Shri is the name of the goddess Lakshmi and may be taken to mean wealth or beauty and sovereignty. Shri here does not mean Surya or the son and it is a mistake to call Srinager, the city of sun. The city of Srinager is between two hills Hari-par VAt 500 ft. high and Takhti-Sulamian 1000 ft. high. The river Jhelum flow through the capital and connects both parts of the city with bridges. Upto 1958 it had seven bridges in all and now there are eleven bridges . Srinagar has now an area of 11 miles in length & 6 miles in breadth. It is situated in the centre of the valley of Kashmir and at an elevation of 5,250 ft. The Srinagar valley is enclosed on all sides by mountains and is shut and does not share in general air circulation of the Punjab and Western Himalaya area. In spite of the elevation, July and August are hot and some what humid. But spring and Autumn are very pleasant. The mean temperature is 35°F in January and 98°F in July. The year 1978 temperature was 38.5° C the highest temperature record after 32 Years. The annual rain fall exceeds 27"

King Perversen built this city a few miles to the

North of the old capital. It extended from Zadibal to present Habba Kadal, Tenkipur and Zaindar mohalla. The King's palace was located somewhere below Habbakadal on the left bank most probably in the area of Dalhasanyar and Sona-Masjid with its landmarks of Hari Parbat and Shankarchayara hills. The city was dotted with many stones temples dedicated to Shiva, Durga Kali, and Bharrvas. Even at present traces can be found of sculptured blocks, pillars and images. Pt. Kalhan, another Kashmiri scholar found the city of Srinager most charming and surpassing to all other cities for the beauty of its grooves and coolness in summer. Even those who have reached the garden of Celestials could not forget it. Hiuen-Tsang, Chinese scholar and traveller who visited Kashmir in 631 A.D. Calls it the 'new city' .He says "the old city lay to the East. it was on the banks of the Vitasta and the founder had embellished it with many palaces and temples. The king had got a wooden bridge constructed across the river Vistasta.probably near present Narparistan mohalla, Srinager. "The history of Srinager is very interesting. It was destroyed and rebuilt several times. The houses were mainly of timber as they are not Pr. Kalhana mentions several pleases, the splendour of markets nd mansions which were so high as to seem to reach the clouds. How it lost its name of Pravarpur and assumed that of the city of Srinagar is difficult to say. Perhaps it was the old name that remained in common use with the people.

The founder of Srinager seems to have a highly developed sense of town planning. The city was divided into Eight wards for the folklore tells us that each was supervised by a ward officer called Bhairav. They are still worshipped today by the pandits of Srinager, as the guardian dieties, of different parts of the city. More than one fair is held in their honour each year usually in the month of December or April

Rainawari and Dal lake and its neighbourhood are under one ward officer named Vitalaraja Bhairav, in whose honour two fairs are held in Poh and the other in Vaiskah both on the sixth day of dark fortnight of December.

Sathu, Barbarshan, Amira-kadal, and Ganapatyar are under the control of Anand Ishwar Bhairav whose temple stands at Maisum near Badshah Chowk. The annual fair in his honour is held on the tenth day of the dark fortnight of December. The left bank of river Jhelum Habakadal, Tankipora, Dalhasanyar, and Doodganga formed another ward. The temple of its guardian diety is Teshkaraja Bhairav. The temple is situated on the right bank of Doodganga in Karan-nagar locality. Devotees congregate here with their offerings at the time of annual fair which is usually held on the sixth day of the dark night of the month of Vaisakh.

At the confluence of the Doodganga and Jhelum at Chambal there is another temple marking the spot which is sacred Bhakhtishwar Bhairav, who controls Safa-kadal, Chambal and Dadimar localities.

On the right bank of river Jhelum the areas comprising Ali-Kadal, hari- Parbat and Maharajganj Bhairav, whose shrine lies on an island opposite M.P. Higher Secondary SChool, Srinagar and is marked by shade Mullberry tree.

On the left bank of river Jhelum the localities of Gorgari Mohalla, Nawa- bazar and jmallatta were presided over by jayksen Bhairav.

The land beyond Noorbagh, Sekidafar and Waniyar and the lands beyond are under the charge of Vishksen Bhairav. pandits of Srinagar offer their prayers generally on Tuesday and Saturday and distribute husked rice mixed with parts of sheep's liver and is distributed among those who are present at the congregation.

Srinagar is the terminal of one of the centres of Asia trade route, while its chief locality these days is Mayasum which was an island formed by the Tsunti-Khul canal and Jhelum and acremation ground for the city people. During Mughal and Phathan rule it was densely planted ny mullberry trees and was hence called. "Maidani Maisuma" and now are the head quarters of civil lines, hotels, club, Head post office and head telegraph offices, banks, tourism, Government Arts Emporium etc. It is now the centre of Srinagar-State Chief Minister also reside here. Tsere a decisive battle was fought in Oct-Nov 1846, between Maharaja Gulab Singh and the Sikh army. Both, the armies had assembled near the present pologround. the Maharaja fired an artillery cannot from the hillock of present Ramji's temple, Burbarshah. The Sikh army retreated to the Srinagar for and thus Maharaja won the day. In honour of Rama, the Khistrtrya good, he built the temple at the site which is Ramji's the Khistrtrya god, he built the temple at the site which is Ramji's temple in 1847-48. His commander in chief wazir Lakhpat Rai was killed in the battle whose Samadhi stands opposite to the Catholic Church Srinagar.

Bijbihara or Vijabror, abbreviated from Vijayeswara is said to have been founded by king Vijaya. The tradirtion regarding Ashoka's connection with it supplies historical proof for its antiquity. Vijbror is wrongly pronounced as Bijbehara. Ashoka, when he was governor of Gandhara province, followed the cult of Shavism and built two temples here and named these as Ashokaesvara. he built a massive stone wall around these temples after dismantling the old stucoo enclosures and credited these with having propitiated by a fast, Lord Bhuteshware at this famous shrine. This is fully inkeeping with what from other evidence, we conclude as to Ashoka's attitude towards other religious systems that he figures in Kashmir record also as the benefactor

of the ancient and famous shrine of Vijayeshware, and worshipper at the Shiva Shrine at Bhutesha. These two shrines were situated on the, right side of the Jhelum river, at a place known as Soma or Somthung. Tradition has it that the temple had a statue of a cow hanging in the dome of the temple. Mihirakul, the Hun King, brought one thousand Brahmans from Gandhara and settled them here. During the 11th century several decisive battles were fought between Sussal and Anantdev the city was burnt down along with Vijayeshwar temple. In 1861 A.D. Maharaja Ranbir Singh removed the debris of the Vijayshnar temple and built a new temple a new temple just near the present bridge.

Dara Sukuhi built a bridge over Jhelum in 1631 A.D. It is now in ruins. The Badshahi Bagh is remembered on account of the slab which bears the following inscription: "By the grace of God, Dara Shukuh on the 22nd day of Ramzan in the year of he Hijra 1060, in the reign of Shah Jahan Badshah Ghazi, Completed this building which was erected under the superintendence of Darugha Muhammad Zahid Abul Hassan Samarqandi. "The site of the Badshahi Bagh lies on the right bank of the river to the south of the present bridge. The shrine of the saint and scholar Abul Fuqura baba Nasib-ud-din Ghazi is situated on the left bank of the river near the Jamia Masjid. His grave stands to this day as a ziyarat. He was a disciple of baba Daud Khaki. Ghazi was born in 977 A.H. 1569 A.D. and died in 1047 A.H. 1637 A.D. at Bijbihara. Scholars are indebted to him for publishing for the first time, the account of the life of Shaikhu Aalam Shaikh Nur-Ud-Din Rishi under the title of 'Nur-nama' in persian. Hitherto Nur-ud -Din's life was in Sanskrit in Sharada script.

Avantipur: It was built in the ninth century A.D. on Jhelum, by an illustrious ruler in the person of Avantiverman. He built the city of Avantipur present

"Wontipur "on a high and dry spur, of the Wastarwan hills. Owing to its central and strategic location in the Valley, the town has been of considerable importance since the date of its foundation and hence is often mentioned in the Samayamatrika of Kshemendra and in the Chronicles of Kalhana, Jonaraj and Srivara. The large number of ruins extending up to the hills to the east of the present Avantipura town shows that in former times it used to cover a large area. It was a flourishing city up to 12th century A.D. when it was destroyed and burnt down by Damars

Narapur city: kalhana mentions the existence of a grand and important city called Narapur on the bank of river jhelum on the left side near the present Bijbehara. His description is elaborate. He says the markets of the city were kept full of supplies by the high roads leading to it. Big boats used to ply on up and down giving splendour to the river. Its gardens were full of flowers and fruits. Local tradition mentions the shrive of Chakradhara Vishnu in the town of Narapur on the Karewa of sumthan village, near Sangam. Pilgrims from fars off places would offer their prayers. The city was burnt was down along with the shrine of vishnu by king Bhascikara while fighting Sussal. Another name of this city was Kimnarpora. it was encircled by walls. There is not trace left of this grand city now except a few hamlets on Srinagar- Anantnag Highway.

Pampore: The city was founded in the first quarter of the ninth century by king padma, maternal uncle of jayapida. Because of its central position in the valley the city grew in importance and is frequently mentioned in Rajtarangini. Here is a temple dedicated to Vishnu and which was destroyed by the rules of Shaivite creed and Damaras and its wealth was taken away. here is Jamia Masjid and the Ziarat of Shoga baba Sahib.

Parihaspur: In the middle of 8th century the great king of Kashmir Lalitaditya founded the city of Parihaspur of paraspur as it is now called by the locals and is situated 21/2 miles south west of Shadipur and is in between the village of panznoir and Haratrath and stretching from there on a Karewa of Ichman Deer, on the banks of Jhelum. Unfortunately the city of paraspur had remained unidentified till 1892 A.D. when the ruins of this city were found for the first time by Dr. Stein. The city was already known to our earlier chroniclers like haider Malik of Chodra, Mohmad Azam of Diddmari, Birbal Kachru and Narayan Koul. It was built in the centre of the valley so that view could be obtained from the Indus Vally to Harmukh and Mahadev. No. City was ever set in more lovely set in more lovely surrounding than paraspur. Lalitaditya built this city out of the vast treasures which he had brought from the subdued regions. Lalitaditya, erected five large building in this city.

1. The temple of parihasa Keshaya with a silver image.
2. The temple of Mukta - Keshva with golden image.
3. The temple of Mahaveraha with an image clad in golden armour.
4. The temple of Goverdhanadhara with a silver image.
5. The Rajvihara Buddhisht monastery with a large quadrangle and a colossal statue of Buddha in copper. This indicates that there must have been large settlement of Buddhists. He erected stone pillar 54 cubits high with an image of Garuda on the top.

The city throws light on the religious conditions of Kashmir. The chinese pilgrim Cukong who visited - parihaspur in 759 A.D. only a few year after Laitaditya's death says that Buddhist cult was in flourshing condition

and there existed numerous vihars and stupas. He says Buddha's image was brought from Maghadha by his Prime Minister and for a pretty long time was existing even at the time Kalhana is 1148 A.D. A great religious festival was celebrated in the month of March every year to commemorate the victories of Lalitaditya. But as ill luck would have it, two centuries later copper statue of Buddha and other silver images were removed and melted down by king Harsha and in the rising which led to the downfall of king Harsha 1089 A.D. Parihaspur was occupied and burnt the pretender to the throne of Uccals. The steep slopes of the plateau and marshes around it made it a position of military value. When uccala had suffered a defeat, some of routed rebels threw themselves in RAj Vihara monastery which was subsequently burnt and raised to the ground. Thereafter parihaspur ceased to be the royal residence and Laitaditya's son Vijraditya, removed its foundation. King Avantiverman diminished its importance further. His irrigation Minister Suyya Berman effected the regulation of river Jhelum and diverted its junction 3 miles away near Shadipur. A century and a half later Avantiverman's son Shanker Verma carried away the structural material from parihaspur and used the same material for the construction of his new city and temples at Shankerpattan, Even during the last decades of 19th century it was robbed of its valuable construction material by Maharaja Pratap Singh's government for the metalling of Jhelum valley road which was later on put to stop by Mr. Talbot, the then British REsidence in Srinagar.

The city of parihaspur is the birth place of our great master poet historian Kalhana pandit, the author of Rajtarangini son of a great Kashmirian Minister the illustrious lord Canpaka during the reign of ill-fated king Harshadev.

City of Jaypur: There existed one more city of importance on the banks of Jhelum known as Jaypur built by Lalitaditya's grand son Jayapida at the close of 8th century which is identified with its present village of Anderkot in Tehsil Sonawari near Sumbal village. It was a flourishing city and was built on an island rising from the Subal Lake. The fort of Anderkot was surrendered by Kota Rani the last Hindu Queen of Kashmir to Shah Mir, her minister. There is no trace left of this grand city except a few hamlets. Jayapida built temples and vihars in this city and his queen Kamal Devi built grand Matha in this city. In its neighborhood lies the great Sultan of Kashmir Sultan Shamus-ud-Din buried, which is in a bad state of preservation.

Sopur: It is an important delta town created by the siltation of Wolur-lake. It was founded during the reign of Avanti-Verman by his irrigation Engineer Minister, Suyya vermanin the second half of 9th century, named it as Suyya pur on the banks of Jhelum where the river leaves water from the wolar lake. Sultan Zainul-Abddin constructed a bridge across jhelum in 1462 for a long time it has remained the capital city of Kamraz. Suyyapura became a centre of trade in the North Valley. It is a flourishing town next to Srinagar at present. For the last few centuries it was often raided along with the other towns of the valley by the Gojjar Tribes of the Jhelum Valley known as "Khokas". Even mothers frighten their crying children by saying that khokas have come. Their last raid on the valley was in 1856 A.D. in the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh who brought these turbulent tribes under control and repaired the fort at Sopore already built by earlier pathan rules. Here Jamia Masjid was built-by-Aurangzeb Aalamgir.

Havishkpur: Close to Baramulla on the Srinagar Highway there existed one more city called Havishkpur

which is a mere village at present two miles in the east of Baramulla. It retained its importance for the long times as the headquarters of Buddhist monks and also as the first town of note in the valley at its entrance from the Jhelum valley road. Alberuni gives its exact location. Lalitaditya built an image of Mukta Swamin. The remains of the ancient vihara and stupa can be seen near the village at present. He also built a grand Buddhist monastery and vihara which served as the resting place for the chinese traveler's and scholar's, Ou Kong and Hiuen Tsang. Here, in A.D.631 the king of Kashmir Durlabhvardhan (625-661) A.D. received with great pomp and show the chinese travelers and scholars Hiuen Tsang who came here for study of sutras and sastrus. The king escorted him from the capital Hushkapur to Srinagar as jaya vindya vihara, which has been located near the present Jamia Masjid Srinagar.

Jushkapur: It is present days Zukar 10 kilometers from srinagar in the north near. It was founded by Tartar rular, Jushka.It must have been a center of trade and learning. In its vicinity a grand vihara, named Amrit Bhavan,was built, a mohalla extant known as Wonta Bhawan.

Damodhara city: For many year after Ashoka's death Kashmir was ruled by a prince named Damodhara,whose descent is not clear. He is believed to have founded his capital city on the present airport plateau called Yachhigam pargana. In order to raise water for drinking and cultivation for his city, he erected a dam called "Gud Sathu", which is an extant village. When deplore Kalhana,a high minded man wished to execute some benifical work of an extraordinary character, there rise alas: obstacles from the deficiency of men's spiritual merits from former births. One day Damodhara was going to the river to perform his customary ablutions in

the vistsata when he was importuned for food by some hungry brahmins; he deferred with there complying solicitations till he had bathed in the river at some distance; to shorten the interval they proposed to bring the river to him; immediately the water of the Vitasta bubbled up from different places near them, forming the springs that are still to be seen. The king was unmoved by this miracle and still determined to bathe in the genuine stream; the Brahmins pronounced a curse upon him and transformed him into a snake; in that shape he haunts the grounds near the capital and is often to be seen in the dark solitude of the plateau.

Origin of the Valley

The earth we live on is like a mere speck of dust in the air, and the span of man's life on it is very short in comparison to the estimated age of the planet. It is figured out that the earth was formed about 5,000 million years ago, and man has lived on it for only about five million years. But during this short period, he has passed through various stages of development, and the discovery of the fossil remains of skulls, bones, tools, etc., buried in the earth has made it possible to plot them fairly well.

Believed to have evolved or developed within the animal kingdom, man belongs to the group called primates, which includes the apes and monkeys. And the oldest man-like primates are believed to have lived in southern Africa from about one to two million years ago. They seem to have been cave dwellers and might have used simple tools. More developed creatures, such as the Java Man and the Peking Man, were born about 500,000 years ago. They probably used fire for heating and cooking. The Neanderthal man lived about 100,000 years ago in parts of Europe. As he was skilled in the use of tools and weapons, he is given the name of Homo Sapiens or "Man, the wise one".

The entire history of early man is, however, divided into two periods-the Palaeolithic or the Old Stone Age and the Neolithic or the New Stone Age. During the first period, he wandered about from place to place, hunting

animals and gathering edible plants. He had no idea of agriculture, nor probably did he know to make a fire. From a food gatherer in this period, he became a food producer in the next. Though his weapons were still made of stone, as in the old age, they were now more effective and easier to handle. He also came to practise agriculture, domesticate animals, make pottery and produce fire by the friction of stones or pieces of wood. Woven clothes were put on and caves were used as places of shelter by him.

The Stone Age was followed by another in which man began to use metals for the making of tools and weapons and live in planned towns.

India also is one of those countries in the world which became a centre of man's civilization in the most ancient times. Archaeological discoveries in many of its parts show the widespread existence of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic men who fashioned rough tools of stone similar to those found in the other areas of globe. But unlike some of those areas of the world where the New Stone Age is believed to have begun around 7,000 B.C, in India the Neolithic settlements are not older than 6,000 B.C.

It also cannot be said with certainty whether the people who inhabited India in the beginning belonged to the country itself or came from outside. The debate is still going on. The consensus of opinion at present is, however, that they belonged to the equatorial or Negroid race. Coming from Africa by way of Arabia and the coast-lands of Persia, they spread over the western southern and north eastern parts of India. A group of them went even to the Andaman Islands. Today, they are virtually extinct. Being probably food gatherers, they do not appear to have contributed anything of importance to the Indian civilization.

The Negroids were followed by the Proto-Austroloids. Called the Nishadas in the ancient Indian literature, the latter are regarded as a very old off-shoot of the Mediterranean race from Palestine. A branch of them passed on to Australia and Tasmania. Even today their descendants are found among the lower classes all over India.

The next to appear on the scene were the Mongoloids from their homes in north-western China and Mongolia. They spoke the non-Dravidian languages known as Mon-Khmer languages belonging to the Tibeto-Chinese and the Siamese-Chinese family. Along with the Proto-Austroloids, they are believed to have contributed a lot to the Indian culture. Use of pottery, bow and arrow, and hoe is attributed to them. Some fruits and vegetables like banana, brinjal, coconut, betel, pumpkin, besides cotton and rice, are presumed to have been cultivated by the Austric people. They also seem to have known the domestic fowl, the peacock, the elephant and the horse or pony. The use of turmeric and vermilion in religious ceremonies, milk and tea as drinks, some food taboos and magical beliefs are their other contributions.

Later, a wave of Dravidian people, also from the eastern Mediterranean, swept across India. Some scholars believe that they were the creators of the well-known Indus Valley Civilization. Their influence is quite strong even in contemporary India and they inhabit practically the whole of its southern part. They brought with them the cult of Siva and the institution of Yoga. They knew the use of canoes, boats and ships, and gave the world the earliest municipal planning. All the necessary arts of life, including agriculture, spinning and weaving, and dying were practised by them. Puja, or the offering of flowers, leaves, fruits and water to a god, is their gift. Certain usages regarding the prohibited degrees in

marriage and the practice of disposal of the dead by cremation also owe their origin to them.

The Dravidians could not stand, at least in northern India, before the Aryans who came next and were better organised. The latter possessed horse and the best variety of wheat. The use of milk on a large scale, alcoholic drink, dancing, chariot racing and tailored, garments were the other important features of their culture. But their chief gift id the Sanskrit language. They worshipped various powers of nature conceived of as forces with certain human qualities. Their ritual was that of the offering or libation put into the sacrificial fire. This and other rituals were performed by a priestly class, the Brahmans. Besides the Brahmans, there were three other classes, into which their society was divided , viz, the Kshatriyas (the rulers and warriors), the Vaishas (the businessmen) and the Shudras (the serfs).

The entry of the Aryans into India is variously dated from 5000 B.C. to 1500 B.C. The route taken by them and the part of India first occupied by them also are still moot points. In any case, there is no evidence to suggest that they first settled in Kashmir or even passed through it. On the contrary, if a mythological tradition is to be believed, the Aryans penetrated Kashmir through the Panjab which they had occupied much earlier. This tradition, contained in the Nilamata Purana, throws further light on how the Valley Kashmir was formed, who were its early inhabitants, and how they reacted to the Aryan penetration into their land. We would, therefore, do well to take note of it here in some detail.

The Nilmata Purana says the Velley of Kashmir, called Satidesa, was originally a lake known as Satisaia, i.e. the lake of Sati, named after Parvati, the divine consort of Lord Siva. In this area lived Kadru and Vinata, two wives of Kashyap, son of Marichi and grandson of

Brahma. While Kadru had Nagas, the serpents, as her sons, Vinata's sons were the birds Garuda and Aruna. The green-eyed monster in them did not allow the serpents and the birds live peacefully. In their struggle against each other, Garuda approached Indra, "obtained the boon of eating the Nagas", and threatened their very existence. In sore straits, Vasuki, the chief of the Nagas, appealed for help to Visnu. The god told him that he "along with the pious Nagas may dwell in the country of Sati, in the sky like lake of holy water. The enemy of the serpents shall not kill those serpents who will make their abode in that lake. O Lord of the Nagas, my mount-the enemy of the Nagas-shall not kill him who, with his abode in the country of Sati, dwells unthreatened from all sides. O highly fortunate one, coronate Nila in the kingdom of those highly strong Nagas who shall dwell in the country of Sati". Vasuki acted accordingly and with that ended the enmity between the two sides.

The legend goes on to say that after some time Indra, along with his consort, came to Satisara on a pleasure trip. A Daitya chief, named Sangraha, another descendant of Kashyap, then cast his covetous eyes on Indra's wife and wished to carry her away. This led to a clash between Sangraha and Indra, which lasted for about a year. Ultimately, the former was defeated and killed.

From Sangraha was born a son, Jalodbhava (water-born). As a child, the latter was brought up by Nila. But when Jalodbhava grew up, he obtained from Brahma the boon of imperceptible birth. Then, defying Nilas's authority, he began to harass and kill the inhabitants of the surrounding territories of Darvabhisara, Gandhra, Juhundra, Sakas, Khasas, Madras, etc. The helpless Nila approached his father, Kashyap, who was on a pilgrimage of various holy places and then staying at

Kankhal, near Haridwar. He persuaded him to visit the holy places in the Madra territory and elsewhere also in this everywhere, he asked his son, "O Nila, tell me as to why this country of the Madras has been deserted" This has always been charming, devoid of the calamity of famine and full of the wealth of grains". The son replied that Jalodbhava, "that impudent fellow, who obtained boons from Brahma of imperceptible birth, ignores me like anything and I am incapable of keeping him under control due to the boon of the Lord of three worlds. By that villain of evil intellect-eater of human flesh-this whole country of the Madras as well as the neighbouring lands have been depopulated".

Explaining this, Nila requested his father "to check him for the welfare of the world". Consenting to do so, Kashyap came to Satisara, and beseeched the help of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. Followed by Brahma, Siva and hosts of other gods and goddesses. Vishnu proceeded to punish Jalodbhava. But the demon, knowing that he was imperishable in the water, took refuge in the lake. Thereupon, while the numerous gods took up positions on the surrounding mountains, Vishnu asked Ananta, "Breaking forth Himalaya today with plough, make soon this lake devoid of water". When this was done, "the water flowed forth hurriedly with force terrifying all the beings with its violent rush and sound and overflowing the tops of the mountains with curved waves like Himalaya touching the sky". Making a desperate bid to save himself, Jalodbhava then created dense darkness all around through magic. But Siva soon dispelled it by holding the sun and the moon in his hands. Finally, Vishnu attacked the demon with his discus and removed him from life.

On the land which emerged out of the waters of the Satisara, Brahma, Siva, Vishnu, Ananta, Kashyap and the other gods created hermitages for themselves. "So did

the Gandharas, the Apsaras, the Yaksas and the mountain kings along with Guhyakas". Later, Visnu also established his own image as well as those of Siva and his female consort; and a large number of sages, Nagas, Gandharvas and others came to see the image of Siva. Kashyap then prayed to Visnu, "O God, let this country be inhabited by human beings and be holy as well as charming". But the Nagas told Visnu, "We would not live in the company of men". Filled with rage at the objection of the Nagas, Kashyap cursed them, "As you speak audaciously, without paying regard to my words, you shall have to dwell in the company of the Pisacas". The Pisacas lived "in the centre of the sea of sand" and were "highly terrible". In view of their ferocious character, Nila pleaded with his father to show mercy to the Nagas. Kashyap then moderated his curse to this extent that the Pisacas would stay in the Valley but for six winter months only every year and during the remaining six summer months every year men would live here. But Nila again submitted, "we are ready to live always in the company of men. We would not live with the Pisacas who are cruel and who like cruelty". Visnu then assured the Naga chief that this practice would not last for more than four ages, and that "after that you will live in the company of men only". Visnu further said, "The men will worship the Naga in whose territory they shall dwell, with flowers, incense ointments, eatable offerings, incense of various types and excellent gifts of dramatic performances".

After the four ages had ended, and the men, as usual, had left the Valley for the six winter months, an old Brahman, Candradeva, stayed behind. But he was greatly harassed by the Pisacas. In his difficulty, he approached Nila who was served by the Pisaca chief, Nikumbha. Praising the Naga chief, the Brahman requested him to free men from the botheration of

migration from Kashmir. Nila agreed to oblige provided the men followed his instructions as revealed to him by Kesva. Candradeva then stayed for six months in the palace of Nila and learnt there all the required rites and rituals. With the onset of summer, when the emigrant population of Kashmir returned, he narrated the whole incident to Virodaya, the chief of men. Thenceforth, men began to live peacefully in the Valley throughout the year.

Legendary though this account is, it contains some historical facts also, and when we sift the one from the other, a fairly accurate history of a very remote past of Kashmir begins to unfold itself. Thus we come to know that a large part of the Valley of Kashmir was originally under water. It is noteworthy that many geologists also are of this opinion. In the words of Frederic Drew, the Geographer of Jammu and Kashmir, "traditions...are valuable.....as showing how in early times some races of mankind had learnt to interpret aright the geological records of the history of their dwelling places",

Next we learn from the Nilamata Purana that the early inhabitants of Kashmir were the tribal Nagas, the worshipers of the Nags or serpents. Most of them lived on the mountains around the Satisara, and practised agriculture as Kalhana's legend of the Naga Susravasa (king Nara's time) indicates. But the recent discoveries laid bare by the archaeologists' spade at Burzahom, about ten miles (16 kms) east of Srinagar, leave us in no doubt that here lived some people before the Nagas also. The excavations have brought to light four cultural periods.

The people of the first period lived in pits which were cut below the ground level into the natural soil. They used hand-made pottery which chiefly consisted of bowls, vases and stem. Bone and stone tools also were used, and these included harpoons for fishing, needles,

spear points, arrow heads, dagger, axes, picks, chisels and pounders.

The second period is characterised by structures made of mud or mud bricks as well as timber. The pottery, though still generally handmade, was of superior quality. Thus a burnished black ware of medium fabric made its appearance during this period. Bone and stone tools also had a better finish. The most distinctive feature of this period, which is not to be found anywhere else in the contemporary India, was the peculiar burials. The dead and their pet animals were placed in oval pits, mostly dug into the house floors or compounds.

While both of these periods belong to the Neolithic Age, the next is associated with the Megalithic Age when the wheel-made pottery and metallic tools began to be used. Stone and rubble structures also were then built.

The fourth and the last period is ascribed to the historical period. Dated a little earlier than the third to fourth century A.D., mud-brick structures, wheel-made red ware and metallic objects predominated during this period.

The earliest date ascribed to Burzahom is 2400 B.C. But the identity of the people of this period is still folded in mist. However, we have already noted that northern India was once inhabited by the Mon-Khmer group of people and the Nagas are believed to have been their descendants. We may therefore, presume that the predecessors of the Nagas in Kashmir belonged to the Mon-Khmer group. we have also mentioned some special characteristics of the culture of the latter. It is significant to note that some of these are still peculiar to the people of Kashmir, e.g., cultivation of rice and brinjal, fishing, boating and the use of betal-leaf. By temperament, the Mon-Khmer people were cheerful, sociable, kindly,

considerate and happy-go-lucky; and the Kashmiries are not different.

The Nagas, according to the information gleaned from the Nilamata Purana, were followed by the Pisaca people into Kashmir, perhaps from the north-west. Next came a wave of the Aryans from the Panjab side. The Nagas resented the entry of both the Pisacas and the Aryans into their country and there were frequent bloody clashes between them. Ultimately, however, finding the Aryans not only more powerful but also more amiable, the Nagas came to terms with them and also agreed to recognise a new leader of their tribe, Nila name, in place of the old, at the dictates of the ARyans.

A section of the Nagas, however, refused to recognise the supremacy of the Aryans and, therefore, continued their opposition to them. In Sangraha, they found an able leader. He fought against the Aryans for about a year, but lost in the end. He felt a minor son named Jalodbhava. Nila took the latter under his protection and showed every kindness to him. But when Jalodbhava grew up, he came to dislike Nila's pro-Aryan policy and rose in revolt against him. Soon his revolt became so formidable that not only many Aryans but Nila also had to flee the country. By this time the Aryans had penetrated into northern India up to the modern Uttar Pradesh, and established powerful settlements there. Nila approached them for help. Consequently, a large Aryan force, led by Kashyap and a number of other chiefs, came to Kashmir. Jalodbhava, who was besieged on all sides, put up a heroic resistance, but was finally defeated and killed.

Finding the country very charming, many Aryan supporters of Nila made up their mind to settle here permanently. But there was not much cultivable land for their subsistence. They perceived that if the water of the

Satisara was drained out by cutting the Jehlum defile below the town of Baramulla, a large tract of fertile land would emerge. This marvellous engineering feat was subsequently successfully accomplished. The Aryan chiefs then intended to bring more of their followers from northern India for permanent settlement in the Valley. But the Nagas were opposed to this measure. The Aryans then warned them of the dangers at the hands of the Pisacas who were numerous and also friends of the late Jalodbhava. Thereupon, the Nagas withdrew their opposition. but a large majority of the new settlers could not stay here during the winter months owing to severe cold and snow. Hence, they adopted the practice of coming to the Valley at the time of sowing rice, etc. and leaving it after harvesting, spending here in all about six summer months every year.

The temporary emigration of the Aryan settlers to the warmer areas lying on the southern side of the Valley ;went on for some years until they ;got acclimatized and preferred to stay here permanently. With the passage of time, the relations also not only ;between them and the Nagas but also between both of them and the Pisacas became perfectly cordial and harmonious, and all of them began to lead a peaceful life.

Here we might also venture to determine the time of Aryan penetration into Kashmir and the desiccation of the Satisara Lake by them. We know that while some of them had come sometime before Nila had become the chief of the Nagas, a large number of them came during and shortly after his struggle for power with Jalodbhava. As not much time elapsed between these two waves of the Aryan immigration to Kashmir, for our purpose we might reckon them to have taken place at the same time. The drainage operations also were carried out by them almost simultaneously.

Now, the Aryans could not have made passage for the lake waters by cutting the Jehlum defile below baramulla without the use of some kind of iron machinery or tools which the Nilamata Purana describes as a "plough". And, according to the scholars of Indian history, the Aryans started smelting and manufacturing iron objects in India first in the Gandhara region from about 1000 B.C. in the modern Uttar pradesh region, as Nilamata Purana indicates, this event occurred around 800 B.C. To be on the safer side, however, we might say that the Aryans penetration into Kashmir as well as the emergence of a large part of the Valley from under water as a result of the desiccation of the lake took place sometime between 1000 and 800 B.C. obviously, this conclusion would not hold good if the origin of the Valley is attributed to some such violent geological upheaval as earthquakes about which there is no information.

We might raise yet another question here. The scholars put the date of end of the Indus Valley Civilization at about 1500 B.C. But by no means this conclusion is final. Nor is there as yet a definite answer to the questions how or why it came to an end. On the face of it there appears no reason to link the destruction of Harappa and Mohanjodaro with the unprecedented floods that the desiccation of the Satisara Lake would have caused in the Jehlum. Still, we suggest the scholars working on the subject to examine it from this angle.

First Gonanda Dynasty

The Nagas were, as already mentioned, a tribal people. Their tribal organisation continued to dominate the political scene in Kashmir for some time even after the coming of the Aryans. This is evident from Visnu's assurance to Nila that "the men will worship the Naga in whose territory they shall dwell." Gradually, however,

the Aryan political institutions began to take roots in their newly adopted homeland, and monarchy also was established here. But we know not exactly when and how this happened. both of our extant sources on the early history of Kashmir, the Nilamata Purana and Kalhana's Rajatarangini provides us with no clue in this respect.

The first king who is mentioned in Kalhana's chronicle by name is Gonanda. He is said to have ascended the throne when 653 years of Kali period had passed away. Traditionally, the coronation of Yudhishtira, the Pandava ruler of the Mahabharata times, also took place at this point of time. India was then divided into a number of small principalities any those of Kasi, Kosala, Magadha, Malhura, Pragjyotisha (Assam), Kambojas, Sakas, Madras, Kaikeyas and Avanti were prominent in northern India.

Gonanda is said to have been a relative of Jarasanda, the king of Magadha and father-in-law of Krishna. Our chronicler says that Goanada, " with large forces", fought and died in a war for Jarasanda against Krishna at Mathura.

Gonanda's son, Damodra, then occupied the throne of Kashmir. He set his heart upon avenging his father's death, but suffered the same fate at the hands of Krishna in the neighbouring territory of Gandhara. Both of them had gone there to participate in a Svayamvara or a contest for marriage, and Damodra is said to have marched at the head of this "expedition obscuring the sky with the dust that the horses of his army raised."

Thereafter, Krishna got Damodra's pregnant widow, Yasovati, installed on the throne by the Brahmans. But later, when she gave birth to a son, he was crowned as Gonanda II.

About this time broke out the Mahabharata War. As

the king of Kashmir was still and infant, his help is said to have been sought neither by the Kauravas nor the Pandavas. Whether it was actually owing to this or some other reason, we know it for definite that Kashmir did not take part in the war and was thus saved of its disastrous consequences.

But the scholars doubt the very authenticity of the above account of Gonanda and his descendants. In it they see a deliberate attempt "to connect special Kashmirian legends with those of India proper, and especially with the Mahabharata".

Mauryan Rule

After Gonanda II, thirty five kings are said to have succeeded him, but, says Kalhana, they "have been immersed in the ocean of oblivion, their the Pandavas or the ancestors of Maharaja Gulab Singh, the founder of modern State of Jammu and Kashmir. But they are not convincing.

Kalhana mentions the names of eight more kings before talking of Asoka; and they include Lava, Kusha and Janaka. It is not improbable that Kashmir came under the sway of the Achaemenians of Persia for some time during this period. The students of Indian history know it well that Cyrus., the founder of the Persian empire, was able to extend his conquests right up to the Hindukush, and Gandhara formed a part of his empire. later, in 516 B.C. Darius annexed a part of the Panjab also to the Persian empire. It is, however, difficult to say for how long the Persian rule lasted over these parts of India. But it is very probable that by the time of Alexander's invasion in 326 B.C., their hold had become much effete.

Alexander indirectly helped the growth of Indian unity and the extension of the Mauryan Empire by

weakening the petty states in the north-west of India. Asoka must have, therefore, conquered Kashmir also.

According to our chronicler, Asoka's reign in Kashmir was marked by great building activity and spread of Buddhism. The emperor set up here Viharas and Stupas at Vitastatra and Suskaletra, repaired on old Siva temple of Vijayesvara, and built two new temples called Asolervara. He also founded a town, Srinagar, three miles above the modern city of Srinagar. It is now occupied by a small village called Pandrethan, derived from ancient appellation Puranadhishtana which literally means "the old capital".

With the death of Asoka began the downfall of the Mauryan Dynasty, and Kashmir again became independent, it is said under his alleged son, Jalauka. According to Kalhana, the latter was a great warrior who freed the country of the Mlecchas and made extensive conquests, including that of Kanyakubja. Credit is also given to him for having reformed the system of administration in Kashmir. Whereas formerly there were only seven heads of departments, viz, the judge, the revenue superintendent, the treasurer, the commander of the army, the envoy, the Purohita and the astrologer, he increased their number to eighteen. He is also said to have brought from Kanauj "people of all four castes in his own land and brought from Kanauj "people of all four castes in his own land and righteous men acquainted with legal procedure".

It is significant to note here that after Asoka's death,

Buddhism in India had begun to decline and under Sungas and Kanvas Hinduism with its ceremonious rituals of sacrifices, was restored. No wonder, Kashmir also was affected by this change, and Jalauka's call to "people of all four castes", particularly to those who

were well-versed in legal procedure, i.e. the Brahmans, is indicative of that. But the form of Hinduism which flourished in Kashmir under him was the old one, i.e. Saivism. He himself built two Siva temples of Jyestharudra and Butesa at Sringari and Nandikshetra respectively. Earlier he had destroyed some Viharas. But towards the close of his reign, when he seems to have adopted a conciliatory attitude towards Buddhism, one was established by him.

Kushan Occupation

Jalauka was succeeded by Damodra II. The latter built a town on the Damodra-Suda (modern Damodar Udar), round an arid alluvial plateau to the south of Srinagar. He also wished to arrange for its irrigation through a canal which, however, could not be constructed owing to the opposition of some Brahmans.

After he passed away, Kashmir is said to have come under the Kushan occupation. The north-west India was, no doubt, subjected to several foreign invasions following the fall of the Mauryan Empire, and Kashmir could not possibly keep herself immune from these convulsions.

There is a suggestion that, for a brief period, a part of it came even under the Indo-Greeks and the Sakas. Manender, also called Milinda, had definitely incorporated into his kingdom Gandhara and some parts of the Panjab, and made Sialkot as his capital.

The Sakas, who followed the Greeks, controlled a much larger part of north-west India, including Gandhara, the Swat Valley and possibly a part of Kashmir.

The Sakas were overthrown in India by the Kushans in the beginning of the first century A.D. Under the latter, small and fragmented states were once again united. Their empire included not only the regions of

northern and north-western India but also of Central Asia and Afghanistan.

According to Kalhana, among the Kushan rulers whose sway extended to Kashmir included Huska, Juska and Kaniska. each one of them founded here a town after his name, and these were called Huskapura (Uskur), Juskapura (Zukur) and Kanishkapura (Kanispur) respectively. Kanishka is identified with the well-known Kushan ruler of India of the same name. According to a Buddhist tradition, he convened the fourth Buddhist Council at a place called Kundalvana in Kashmir, although some scholars opene that it was held at Jullundur in the Panjab.

Local Rulers

A sseries of local rulers are said to have succeeded the Kushanas. The first of them was Abhimanyu. Patanjali's Mahabhasya was brought to Kashmir in his time. Buddhism also rose to prominence during his regin. It seems the Nagar wwere offended at this development and came in conflict, perhaps bloody, with the Budhists who suffered greatly, consequently.

Abhimanyu's successor, Gonanda III, also kept the drive onagainst the Budhists, and further promoted the cause of Saivism, the traditional religion of the people of Kashmir. He was successively followed by Vibhisana I, Indrajit, Ravana and Vibhisana II, the names which remind us of the demon warriors of the Ramayana.

Vibhisana II was succeeded by his son, Nara or Kimnara. The latter seems to have been a great enemy of the Budhists. They are said to have incurred his wrath when one of them seduced his wife through magic. Thereupojn, he "burned thousands of Viharas, and granted the villages which had belonged to them, to Brahmans'. He also built a town after his name, which

was, however, destroyed by a heavy rain which was brought about, it is said, by the Nagas. According to Kalhana, the Nagas were incensed at the king's evil intentions towards a married Naga woman.

It may be noted here that after the downfall of the Kushan Empire and before the rise of the Guptas, in the beginning of the fourth century A.D., there followed a long period of political fragmentation in northern India. During this period, two powers, the Nagas and the Vakatakas rose to prominence. Nava Naga and Virasens Naga, the two Naga princes, succeeded in sweeping away the Kushana's above references to the Nagas show that in Kashmir also, at this time, they became active and created much turmoil, if not made a bid to recapture power.

Mihirakula and his successors

The next important ruler of Kashmir mentioned in the *rajatarangini* is Mhirakula. He is undoubtedly the cruel and ruthless Huna warrior of the same name who ruled over a large part of northern India after the collapse of the Gupta Empire. When, in about 533 A.D., he suffered defeat at the hands of a confederacy of some Indian chiefs, he sought safety in Kashmir. Here, he soon seized the throne by treachery. It is said that once, while returning from a conquering expedition, one of his elephants fell down a precipitous narrow passage on the Pir Panjal Pass. So much was he thrilled by the cries of agony of the falling animal that he is said to have caused the destruction of a hundred more in a similar manner. The place of this incident is still known as Hastivanj. It may be mentioned here that Bernier, the French traveller, also records the falling of an elephant of Aurangzeb while ascending the Pir Panjal.

Mihirakula is further said to have built a shrine of Siva at Srinagar, founded a town after his name, and

partonised the Brahmans. A number of the Brahmans belonging to the Gandhara region were invited to settle down in Kashmir, and received land grants from him.

The names of the immediate successors of Mihirakula suggest that the huns continued to rule over Kashmir for some more time, After Baka and Ksitinanda, Vasunanda was thus the third in line. He is said to have composed a treatise on erotics. Nara II and Aksha followed him. Aksha founded the town of Akshvala, the well-known modern tourist resort of Achbabal.

Gopaladitya was the next king. He is credited to have established many religious foundations, including the shrine of Jyesthesvara on the Gopa hill which is identified with that of Shankarachaya in Srinagar. The name of the hill still survives in the village of Gopkar at its foot. The king also banned the killing of animals, except for sccrificial purposes.

Narindradya was the second successor of Gopaladitya, the first being Gokarna. Also called Khingila, he asumed the title of Deva Sahi Khingila. He was followed by Yudhisthira, better known as Blind Yudhistthira. An oppressive ruler, the latter was forced to flee the country by his ministers and subjects.

From Pratapaditya to Samdhimati

The vacant throne is then said to have been offered to a relative of king Vikramaditya of India, who assumed the title of Pratapaditya.

Probabaly he was an invader and wrested the kingdom of Kashmir from Yudishthira with the help of the latter's disaffected subjects. The identity of Vikramaditya also is yet to be estbalished. Though an outsider, Pratapaditya "cherished the land as if it had belonged to his forefathers".

Jalaukas was the next and Tunjina the third and last king of this dynasty. The great poet Chandaka flourished in Tunjina's time. But the latter's reign was marred by a severe famine caused by an untimely snowfall in September. The king provided free food to the needy, but soon his resources were exhausted. His saintly wife then prayer to god to protect the famine-stricken people. Her prayers were granted and, it is said, there fell daily on each house numberless dead pigeons to be used as food. After the death of her husband, she committed Sati.

Tunjina left no son, and another unknown family then occupied the throne. Vijaya, the first king of this line, built the shrine of Vijayeshvara. He was followed by his son, Jayendra, and the latter by his minister, Samdhimati, under the title of Aruyaraja. Kalhana says that before his accession, Samdhimati was cruelly done to death by king Jayendra but later he was restored to life by the magic of Witches. Being a great devotee of Siva, Saivism gained considerable ground under his patronage. Ultimately, Samdhimati voluntarily abdicated and ended his days as a recluse.

Second Gonanda Dynasty

The throne of Kashmir next passed on to Meghavahana. Son of Gopaditya, a great-grandson of Yudhisthira, living in exile at Gandhara, he returned to his country on the invitation of the exking's ministers. He is perhaps the first king of Kashmir who put a ban on the slaughter of animals even for sacrificial purposes, and gave financial assistance to the butchers for earning "sinless livelihood". Kalhana narrates some stories which indicate pressure on the king for the reversal of this measure, but he stood his ground.

He also founded a village and some religious establishments. Many Viharas were built by his wives

too. Amritaprbha, one of them erected a monastery, called Amritabhavan, for the residence of outside Bhikshus or the Buddhist monks. Her father's teacher, who belonged to Leh (Ladakh) and was designated as Stonpa, also established the Stupa of Lostunpa. Kalhana further says that with a view to imposing prohibition against the killing of living beings, Meghavahana undertook expeditions against some countries, including Ceylon. This account is, however, unbelievable, first, because of the reference to far off Ceylon, and secondly, because a man who banned the violence on animals even for sacrificial purposes cannot be expected to have used violent means for the spread of the message of non-violence.

The next king, Sresthasena, was also known by the names of Pravarasena and Tunjana II. He erected many sacred buildings at Purandisthana, a city originally founded by Asoka. When he passed into silence, his elder son, Hiranya, occupied the throne, while the younger one, Toramana, became the heir-apparent. But Toramana gave offence to his brother by coining money in his own name and, therefore, landed himself in prison. Frightened, his wife fled and took refuge in a potter's house. There she gave birth to a son who, after his grandfather, was also named Pravarasena.

Sometime later, Toramana died. Hiranya also was removed from life soon after, without leaving any heir. On the request of the people of Kashmir, an unidentified king Vikramaditya Harsa of Ujjain is said to have then filled up the vacant throne by a Brahman poet named Matrigupta. Identified by some scholars with the well-known Sanskrit poet and dramatist, Kalidasa, the new king was highly pious and liberal-minded. He prohibited the slaughter of animals, which seems to have revived sometimes after Meghavahana. He also built the shrine of Visnu Matriguptasvamin, and patronised

Bhartrimentha, also called Mentha, the author of Hayagrivavdha. But when Vikramaditya of Ujjain died, Matrigupta turned a recluse. Seating Pravararasena II on the throne, whom divine ordinance had called back to Kashmir, he himself left for Varanasi.

It Kalhana's above account of Matrigupta rests on historical facts, it might be concluded, first, that about the middle of the sixth century A.D. Kashmir had been subject to a ruler who acknowledged the sovereignty of Vikramaditya of Ujjain; and, secondly, that Pravarasena II freed it from the foreign domination, most probably through an invasion.

Pravarasena II is said to have made vast conquests, including that of Saurashtra. Seven times he defeated a king called Mummuni. His help was sought even by the son and successor of Vikramaditya of Ujjain. The latter, named Pratapaditya, was ousted by his enemies. But the ruler of Kashmir went to his rescue and, after the restoration of his ally, is said to have brought back the throne of his ancestors, which had been earlier taken away to Ujjain. He added yet another feather in his cap by founding the city of Pravarapura on the site of modern Srinagar. When Hieun Tsang visited Kashmir, in 631 A.D., he found it in existence.

After Pravarasena II sat Yudhishtira II on the throne. He was followed by Lakhana Narendraditya. The latter established a department for keeping records. It is said that he maintained

India is one of those countries in the world which became a centre of man's civilization in the most ancient times. Archaeological discoveries in many of its parts show the widespread existence of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic men who fashioned rough tools of stone similar to those found in the other area of globe. But unlike some of those areas of the world where the New stone

Age is believed to have begun around 7,000 B.C. in India the Neolithic settlements are not older than 6,000 B.C.

It is also cannot be said with certainty whether the people who inhabited India in the beginning belonged to the country itself or came from outside. The debate is still going on. The consensus of opinion at present is, however, that they belonged to the equatorial of Negroid race. Coming from Africa by way of Arabia and the coast-lands of Persia, they spread over the western, southern and north eastern parts of India. A group of them went even to the Andaman Islands. Today, they are virtually extinct. Being probably food gathers, they do not appear to have contributed anything of importance to the Indian civilization.

The Negroids were followed by the Proto-Austroloids, Called the Nishadas in the ancient Indian literature, the latter are regarded as a very old off-shoot of the Mediterranean race from Palestine. A branch of them passed on to Australia and Tasmania. Even today their descendants are found among the lower classes all over India.

The next to appear on the scene were the Mongoloids from their homes in north-western China and Mongolia. They spoke the non-Dravidian languages known at Mon-Khmer languages belonging to the Tibeto-Chinese and the Siemese-Chinese family. Along with the Proto-Austroloids, they are believed to have contributed a lot to the Indian culture. Use of pottery, bow and arrow, and hoe is attributed to them. Some fruits and vegetables like banana, brinjal, coconut, betel, pumpkin, besides cotton and rice, are presumed to have been cultivated by the Austric people. They also seem to have known the domestic fowl, the peacock, the elephant and the horse or pony. The use of turmeric and vermillion in religious ceremonies, milk and tea as drinks, some food

taboos and magical beliefs are their other contributions.

Later, a wave of Dravidian people, also from the eastern Mediterranean, swept across India. Some scholars believe that they were the creators of the well-known Indus Valley Civilization. Their influence is quite strong even in contemporary India and they inhabit practically the whole of its southern part. They brought with them the cult of Siva and the institution of Yoga. They knew the use of canoes, boats and ships, and gave the world the earliest municipal planning. All the necessary arts of life, including agriculture, spinning and weaving, and dying were practised by them. Puja, or the offering of flowers, leaves, fruits and water to a god, is their gift. Certain usages regarding the prohibited degrees in marriage and the practice of disposal of the dead by cremation also owe their origin to them.

The Dravidians could not stand, at least in northern India, before the Aryans who came next and were better organised. The latter possessed horse and the best variety of wheat. The use of milk on a large scale, alcoholic drink, dancing, chariot racing and tailored garments were the other important features of their culture. But their chief gift is the Sanskrit language. They worshipped various powers of nature conceived of as forces with certain human qualities. Their ritual was that of the offering or libation put into the sacrificial fire. This and other rituals were performed by a priestly class, the Brahmans. Besides the Brahmans, there were three other classes into which their society was divided, viz., the Kshatriyas (the rulers and warriors), the Vaishas (the businessmen) and the Shudras (the serfs).

The entry of the Aryans into India is variously dated from 5000 B.C. to 1500 B.C. The route taken by them and the part of India first occupied by them also are still moot points. In any case, there is no evidence to suggest that

they first settled in Kashmir or even passed through it. On the contrary, if a mythological tradition is to be believed, the Aryans penetrated Kashmir through the Punjab which they had occupied much earlier. This tradition, contained in the Nilamata Purana, throws further light on how the Valley of Kashmir was formed, who were its early inhabitants, and how they reacted to the Aryan penetration into their land. We would, therefore, do well to take note of it here in some detail.

The *Nilmata Purana* says the Valley of Kashmir, called Satidesa, was originally a lake known as Satisara, i.e., the lake of Sati, named after Parvati, the divine consort of Lord Siva. In this area lived Kadru and Vinata, two wives of Kashyap, son of Marichi and grandson of Brahma. While Kadru had Nagas, the serpents, as her sons, Vinata's sons were the birds Garuda and Aruna. The green-eyed monster in them did not allow the serpents and the birds live peacefully. In their struggle against each other, Garuda approached Indra, "obtained the boon of eating the Nagas", and threatened their very existence. In sore straits, Vasuki, the chief of the Nagas, appealed for help to Visnu. The god told him that he "along with the pious Nagas may dwell in the country of Sati, in the sky like lake of holy water. The enemy of the serpents shall not kill those serpents who will make their abode in that lake. O Lord of the Nagas, my mount-the enemy of the Nagas-shall not kill him who, with his abode in the country of Sati, dwells unthreatened from all sides. O highly fortunate one, coronate Nila in the kingdom of those highly strong Nagas who shall dwell in the country of Sati". Vasuki acted accordingly and with that ended the enmity between the two sides.

The legend goes on to say that after some time Indra, along with his consort, came to Satisara on a pleasure trip. A Daitya chief, named Sangraha, another descendant of Kashyap, then cast his covetous eyes on

Indra's wife and wished to carry her away. This led to a clash between Sangraha and Indra, which lasted for about a year. Ultimately, the former was defeated and killed.

From Sangraha was born a son, Jalodbhava (water-born). As a child, the latter was brought up by Nila. But when Jalodbhava grew up, he obtained from Brahma the boon of imperceptible birth. Then, defying Nila's authority, he began to harass and kill the inhabitants of the surrounding territories of Darvabhisara, Gandhra, Juhundra, Sakas, Khasas, Madras, etc. The helpless Nila approached his father, Kashyap, who was on a pilgrimage of various holy places and then staying at Kankhal, near Haridwar. He persuaded him to visit the holy places in the Madra territory and elsewhere also in this region. But on reaching here when Kashyap saw destruction everywhere, he asked his son, "O Nila, been deserted? This has always been charming, devoid of the calamity of famine and full of the wealth of grains". The son replied that Jalodbhava, "that impudent fellow, who obtained boons from Brahma of imperceptible birth, ignores me like anything and I am incapable of keeping him under control due to the boon of the Lord of three worlds. By that villain of evil intellect-eater of human flesh-this whole country of the Madras as well as the neighbouring lands have been depopulated".

Explaining this, Nila requested his father "to check him for the welfare of the world". Consenting to do so, Kashyap came to Satisara, and beseeched the help of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. Followed by Brahma, Siva and hosts of other gods and goddesses. Vishnu proceeded to punish Jalodbhava. But the demon, knowing that he was imperishable in the water, took refuge in the lake. Thereupon, while the numerous gods took up positions on the surrounding mountains, Vishnu asked Ananta, "Breaking forth Himalaya today with plough, make soon this lake devoid of water". When this was done, "the

water flowed forth hurriedly with force terrifying all the beings with its violent rush and sound and over-flowing the tops of the mountains with curved waves like Himalaya touching the sky". Making a desperate bid to save himself, Jalodbhava then created dense darkness all around through magic. But Siva soon dispelled it by holding the sun and the moon in his hands. Finally, visnu attacked the demon with his discus and removed him from life.

On the land which emerged out of the waters of the satisara, Brahma, Siva, Visnu, Ananta, Kashyap and the other gods created hermitages for themselves. "SO did the Gandharas, the Apsaras, the Yaksas and the mountain kings along with Guhyakas". Later, Visnu also established his own image as well as those of Siva and his female consort; and a large number of sages, Nagas, Gandharvas and other came to see the image of Siva. Kashyap then prayed to Visnu, "O God, let this country be inhabited by human beings and be holy as well as charming". But the Nagas told Visnu, "we would not live in the company of men". Filled with rage at the objection of the Nagas, Kashyap cursed them, "As you speak audaciously, without paying regard to my words, you shall have to dwell in the company of the Pisacas". The Pisacas lived in the centre of the sea of sand and were "highly terrible". In view of their ferocious character, Nila pleaded with his father to show mercy to the Nagas. Kashyap then moderated his curse to this extent that the Pisacas would stay in the Vally but for six winter months only every year and during the remaining six summer months very year men would live here. But Nila again submitted, "we are ready to live always in the company of men. We would not live with the Pisacas who are cruel and who like cruelty". Visnu then assured the Naga chief that this practice would not last for more than four ages, and that "after that you will live in the

company of men only". Visnu further said, "The men will worship the Naga in whose territory they shall dwell, with flowers, incense ointments, eatable offerings, incense of various types and excellent gifts of dramatic performances".

After the four ages had ended, and the men, as usual had left the Valley for the six winter months, an old Brahman, Candradeva, stayed behind. But he was greatly harassed by the Pisacas. In his difficulty, he approached Nila who was served by the Pisaca, chief, Nikumbha. Praising the Naga chief, the Brahman requested him to free men from the botheration of migration from Kashmir. Nila agreed to oblige provided the men followed his instructions as revealed to him by Kesva. Candradeva then stayed for six months in the palace of Nila and learnt there all the required rites and rituals. With the onset of summer, when the emigrant population of Kashmir returned, he narrated the whole incident to Virodaya, the chief of men. Thenceforth, men began to live peacefully in the Valley throughout the year.

Legendary though this account is, it contains some historical facts also, and when we sift the one from the other, a fairly accurate history of a very remote post of Kashmir begins to unfold itself. Thus we come to know that a large part of the Valley of Kashmir was originally under water. It is noteworthy that many geologists also are of this opinion. In the words of Frederic Drew, the Geographer of Jammu and Kashmir, "traditions...are valuable, as showing how in early times some races of mankind had learnt to interpret aright the geological records of the history of their dwelling places".

Next we learn from the Nilamata Purana that the early inhabitants of Kashmir were the tribal Nagas, the worshippers of the Nags or serpents. Most of them lived

water flowed forth hurriedly with force terrifying all the beings with its violent rush and sound and over-flowing the tops of the mountains with curved waves like Himalaya touching the sky". Making a desperate bid to save himself, Jalodbhava then created dense darkness all around through magic. But Siva soon dispelled it by holding the sun and the moon in his hands. Finally, visnu attacked the demon with his discus and removed him from life.

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once inhabited by the Mon-Khmer group of people and the Nagas are believed to have been their descendants. We may, therefore, presume that the predecessors of the Nagas in Kashmir belonged to the Mon-Khmer group. We have also mentioned some special characteristics of the culture of the latter. It is significant to note that some of these are still peculiar to the people of Kashmir, e.g., cultivation of rice and brinjal, fishing, boating and the use of betal-leaf. By temperament, are MonKhmer people were cheerful, sociable, kindly, considerate and happy-go lucky; and the Kashmiries are not different.

The Nagas, according to the information gleaned from the Nilamata Purana, were followed by the Pisaca people into Kashmir, perhaps from the north-west. Next came a wave of the Aryans from the Punjab side. The Nagas resented the entry of both the Pisacas and the Aryans into their country, and there were frequent bloody clashes between them. Ultimately, however, finding the Aryans not only more powerful but also more agreed to recognise a new leader of their tribe, Nile by name, in place of the old, at the dictates of the Aryans.

A section of the Nagas, however, refused to recognise the supremacy of the Aryans and, therefore, continued their opposition to them. In Sangraha, they found an able leader. He fought against the Aryans for about a year, but lost in the end. He left a minor son named Jalodbhava. Nila took the latter under his protection and showed every kindness to him. But when Jalodbhava grew up, he came to dislike Nila's pro-Aryan policy and rose in revolt against him. Soon his revolt became so formidable that not only many Aryans but Nila also had to flee the country. But this time the Aryans had penetrated into northern India up to the modern Uttar Pradesh, and established powerful settlements there. Nila approached them for help.

Consequently, a large Aryan force, led by Kashyap and a number of other chiefs, came to Kashmir. Jalodbhava, who was besieged on all sides, put up a heroic resistance, but was finally defeated and killed.

Finding the country very charming, many Aryan supporters of Nila made up their mind to settle here permanently. But there was not much cultivable land for their subsistence. They perceived that if the water of the Satisara was drained out by cutting the Jhelum defile below the town of Baramulla, a large tract of fertile land would emerge. This marvellous engineering feat was subsequently successfully accomplished. The Aryan chiefs then intended to bring more of their followers from northern India for permanent settlement in the Valley. But the Nagas were opposed to this measure. The Aryans then warned them of the dangers at the hands of the Pisacas who were numerous and also friends of the late Jalodbhava. Thereupon, the Nagas withdrew their opposition. But a large majority of the new settlers could not stay here during the winter months owing to severe cold and snow. Hence, they adopted the practice of coming to the Valley at the time of sowing rice, etc. and leaving it after harvesting, spending here in all about six summer months every years.

The temporary emigration of the Aryan settlers to the warmer areas lying on the southern side of the Valley went on for some years until they got acclimatized and preferred to stay here permanently. With the passage of time, the relations also not only between them and the Nagas but also between both of them and the Pisaca became perfectly cordial and harmonious, and all of them began to lead a peaceful life. Here we might also venture to determine the time of Aryan penetration into Kashmir and the desiccation of the Satisara Lake by them.

Dawn of Modernism

Maharaja Pratap singh's accession to the gaddi is a landmark in the history of modern Kashmir. During his ling reign of forty years several properly assessed and fixed in cash for a definite number of yeas and the share claimed by the State was greatly reduced. A first-rate cart-road down the Jhelum Valley and another over the Banihal Pass were built, linking the Valley with the rest of India. Heavy taxes on trade were reduced. Increased, though not sufficient, attention was paid to education. A scheme for drainage of the Valley, reclaiming waste land and preventing floods was put into operation. Srinagar. Jammu and a few more towns were electrified.

The administrative machinery was completely overhauled and a humble beginning was made in giving representation to the people in the two municipalities of Srinagar and Jammu.

Maharaj Pratap Singh

All this was 'achieved with the help and prompting of the British Resident who was appointed immediately on the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. From that date the conduct of the internal administration of the State, and the watch and ward of its northern and eastern frontiers became directly the concern of the British Indian Government. How they succeeded in gaining this dominating position is a sad but interesting story of political intrigue and based diplomacy.

Two factors were directly responsible for this development—the new Maharaja's unimpressive figure and indifferent health, and the legacy of the vigorous forward policy of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty. At a time when Afghanistan and its northern frontiers were being subjected to the onslaughts of the rising wave of Tsarist Russia, the British in India were in no mood to respect the treaty obligation, with a princely State which they considered to be their own creation.

Born at Riasi in 1850 A.D., Pratap Singh received education in Dogri, Sanskrit, Persian and English. In his youth he was entrusted by his father with the duties of hearing petitions from people and passing suitable orders in consultation with some of his experienced officials. In this way he got acquainted with the working of various departments of administration. When Lord Ripon visited Kashmir in 1881, Pratap Singh was deputed to receive him at the border and to look after his comforts. In all these assignments Pratap Singh showed his capacity for hard work and intelligent planning. But his unimpressive physique and short-and his submissive nature weighed heavily against him, and there were misgivings about Pratap Singh's ability to govern efficiently.

The fateful year 1885 which coincided with Maharaja Pratap Singh's accession to the gaddi was surcharged with tension on the north western frontiers of India. Lord Dufferin on his assumption of the Viceroyalty of India was faced with the problem of the demarcation of the northern boundary of Afghanistan with Tsarist Russia. During the negotiations over the disputed boundary line, occurred the famous "Panjdeh Incident" which brought Russia and Indeed when the news came that the Russian General Komaroff had attacked and driven out the Afghan garrison of Panjdeh, hardly any responsible person in England at the time thought that the danger

could be averted. "Popular opinion was greatly inflamed against Russia, there was something approaching a panic on the stock exchange, the Conservative opposition were clamorous for strong action, and Gladstone, the Liberal Prime Minister, speaking of the situation as one of extreme gravity, asked for and readily obtained a vote of credit for eleven millions".

Though the 'Panjdeh Incident' ended peacefully, it convinced the British of the importance of strengthening their control on the frontier regions, and thus Kashviolet, various kinds forest production, hemp, tobacco, water nuts and paper formed the state monopoly. The right to legalize marriages was farmed out and it is said that the office of grave-digger was also taxed. Without going into details it may be said that nearly everything save air and water was brought under taxation.

It is not, therefore, surprising that "in 1889, the Kashmir State was bankrupt. The rich land was left uncultivated, and the army was employed in forcing the villagers to plough and sow, and worse still, the soldiers came at harvest time; and when the share of the State had been seized and these men of war had helped themselves, there was very little grain to tide the unfortunate peasants over the cruel winter, when the snow lies deep and temperature falls below zero."

So when in 1889, Sir Walter Lawrence was entrusted with the settlement of the Valley, he found the work not only enormous, but a powerful opposition of the privileged official class and lazy city people ready to sabotage his efforts. The work of settlement had in fact been taken in hand two years earlier by Mr. A. Wingate, but he had to give it up in the face of bitter opposition and intrigue. Sir Walter, however, persisted and completed the work in the Valley by 1893. By the year

1912 practically every Tehsil and district in the State was either settled for the first time or in revision.

The main features of the settlement, as finally effected by Lawrence, were :

- i) The State demand was fixed for fourteen years;
- ii) Payment in cash was substituted for payment in kind;
- iii) The use of force in the collection of revenue was done away with;
- iv) Begar or forced labour in its more objectionable form was abolished;
- v) Occupancy rights were conferred on cultivators in undisputed lands;
- vi) The area of privileged holders of land in excess of the sanctioned area was assessed at ordinary rates;
- vii) Waste-lands were entered as Khalas, but preferential rights for acquisition of such lands by tenants was granted;
- viii) Permanent but non-alienable hereditary rights were granted to those who accepted the first assessment;
- ix) All land was carefully evaluated on the basis of produce, previous collection and possibility of irrigation; and
- x) The Rasum and other exactions were abolished and the rents and liabilities of cultivators were defined.

At the conclusion of Lawrence's beneficial and memorable work, the Maharaja, against the wishes of his countries, wrote off arrears of land revenue amounting to thirty-one lakhs of rupees.

The remission of arrears and the abolition of objectional forms of Begar or forced labour, freed the

peasantry from a haunting fear which had fallen to its lot for generations.

The genesis of the pernicious system of Begar has already been mentioned. Surrounded by high mountain barriers and having no roads fit for wheeled carriages, there developed the system of carriage of goods on human back over the high passes or in the Valley. By and by the administration assumed the powers of levying corvee in various ways. Begar came to mean to the Kashmiri far more than the mere impressment of labour, for under its comprehensive name was included every kind of demand for labour of property taken but not paid for by the officers. The custom became widespread during the Afghan and Sikh times and continued in an unaltered form till Maharaja Gulab Singh's time. The feeble attempts made by the latter towards mitigating some of its rigorous practices, however, did not improve matters. The famine of 1877-79 denuded the villages of most of their inhabitants and consequently there was a great pressure on the slender labour resources of the Valley. The building of the Gilgit road and provision of supplies to its garrison, demanded a large number of laborers who can only be recruited to this work by force. The proper cultivation of the soil, and of their chief staple, rice, are of so exacting a nature that great damage can be caused if the cultivators are kept away too long from the villages. But in spite of it the city had secured exemption on one pretext or the other. "Gilgit", writes Lawrence, "is to the Kashmiri a constant terror, and when it was rumored that transport was wanted to convey the baggage of the troops going to or coming from Gilgit there was a general stampede among the villagers. I have seen whole villages bivouacking on the mountains when the agents for the collection of transport arrived in their Tehsil, and I have seen inhuman punishment dealt out to men who demurred to leaving their homes for two or three months

with the prospect of death from cold or starvation. I have seen villagers maimed from frostbite or shriveled or paralysed from exposure to cold, and it is no marvel that the Kashmiris should loathe the very name of Gilgit." With the increasing number of European visitors to Kashmir, the requisitioning of labour at nominal wages became extensive.

The State Government at the persistent requests of the Resident finally decided in 1891 to abolish Begar. But at the same time it was felt that the transport arrangements of the Valley would collapse. The BEgar had prevented any labouring class to grow and it would take at least a few years for it to come into existence. To tide over the period of transition, a scheme of Begar at once, and at the same time prevent a collapse of the transport system.

The Author of this schemes was Sir Walter Lawrence. Requisition of forced labour for government officials was abolished forthwith, and the completion of the Gilgit road, carriage of goods to Gilgit by forced and unpaid labour was also done away with. The State Council framed elaborate rules for controlling the labour required for carriage of essential commodities in the State by labourers. In a resolution passed on 13th April, 1891, it was laid down that an additional cess at one anna in Jammu and half an anna in Kashmir for every rupee of land revenue paid by cultivators be levied to meet the cost of a Transport Department and a force of 1,000 labourers and 200 pack ponies to be permanently employed. A labourer was to be paid Rs. 5/- per month.

The working of the new schemes was reviewed in 1906 and it was further modified in that the rate of wages was increased to Rs. 8/- per month and as by that time voluntary labour was forthcoming, the use of force in recruiting it was given up. It was only in 1920 that the Begar was abolished completely.

Development of Road Communication

The need for enforcing Begar for carriage purposes abated considerably with another revolutionary undertaking, namely the building of a first-rate cart road down the Jhelum Valley linking Srinagar with Rawalpindi, the nearest rail-head 200 miles away. Previous to this, as Sir Walter Lawrence writing in 1980 tells, there was an absence of roads fit for wheeled traffic in the Valley. Except low trollies resting on wheels, roughly fashioned from the round trunk of trees and used for carrying cops, there was no other kind of wheeled carriage in Kashmir.

By the end of the 19th century, Kashmir had acquired an importance in the context of the Anglo-Russian strategy in Asia. The British were menaced by Russian advance in Central Asia, "and it was necessary," observes Biscoe, "that we should have a road for our troops in order to resist, if necessary, any attack from that quarter." The British Indian Government controlled the administration of the State through their Resident. It was then that the project of linking up the Valley by a cart road with the rail-head at Rawalpindi—an important cantonment - was carried through.

The great work, commenced in 1980, was completed in September, 1980, when Maharaja Pratap Singh was driven through from Baramula to Kohala on the borders of his State. The Resident entrusted the work to a British-owned firm of contractors, Spedding, Mitchel and Co., who bringing in European engineers and several hundreds of Pathans and other labourers, completed the difficult job in record time. The distance from Rawalpindi to Srinagar took only four days to cover in a tonga ; and heavy goods, carried in bullock-carts, reached Srinagar in twenty days.

The traditional route over the Banihal Pass through

whose defiles kings and armies had crept during the Mughal and Sikh times, naturally fell into disuse and neglect. This had an adverse effect on the trade between the two major regions of the State—Jammu and the Valley. It was in 1912 when powers had been partly restored to the Maharaja that one of his far-sighted ministers, Dr. A. Mitra, worked a plan to construct a cart road over the Banihal. Work was begun in 1913 and the first vehicle, a horse-drawn carriage, crossed over in 1915. Srinagar was thus directly linked with Jammu, 200 miles away. The railway line had already been extended from Sialkot to Jammu in 1890.

The Banihal Cart Road as it was then called remained a private road of the Maharaja and special permit was required to travel over it. In July, 1922, however the Maharaja issued an order throwing open the road to the public. Both these roads are great feats of engineering skill and together they made 400 miles of hill road—the longest in the world.

Along with the building of the Jhelam valley and Banihal roads, many former bridle—path in the valley were converted into roads for cart traffic. Telegraph lines, originally laid during Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign, were extended to all the important towns in the valley and to Gilgit and Ladakh. Telephone connection between Jammu and Srinagar was also set up.

The opening up of the valley had naturally far reaching political and economic effect on the life and culture of its inhabitants. So far living in seclusion, they now come in close and direct contact with the people living in the rest of India.

A conspicuous result was the increasing influx of European and Indian tourists to the Valley. The fame of Kashmir's scenic beauty and salubrious climate had already travelled to distant corners of the world, and the

prophecy of G.T.Vigne, who visited the valley in 1885, that "Kashmir will become the sine qua non of the oriental traveller" was nearly coming true. Efforts were made both by the Imperial Government in Calcutta and political parties in England to bring pressure on the Maharaja to allow Europeans to acquire land in Kashmir with a view to turning it into a colony for British retired officers to settle in. But the Maharaja, backed by the leading nobles of the valley, stubbornly opposed the move.

The houseboat

To this ban may be attributed the development which has become an unique institution in Kashmir. Due to lack of accommodation suited to them, the visitors, whose number was increasing year after year, were put to great inconvenience and as the Maharaja's Government would not allow them to own or build house in Kashmir, the doonga, an indigenous boat was by and by transformed into a modern houseboat. But the credit for building the first houseboat strangely enough goes to a member of the Kashmiri pandit, a community which had from ancient times nothing to do with the profession of boat building or boatmen.

Pandit Narindas came of a respectable family and one of the first five Kashmiris to learn English from Rev. Doxey, the founder of the famous Kashmir mission school in 1881. Declining to enter the traditional profession of quill-driving, he, after leaving the school, set up a small store to cater to the needs of the European visitors. But unfortunately his shop was burnt down and finding it difficult to obtain a suitable shop he removed whatever he could save from the fire into a doonga. To his agreeable surprise he found that a doonga served as a better shop since it could be moored at a convenient and central place to the visitors. But rain and snow played

havoc with his stores and he got an idea of having planks and shingle to replace the matting walls and roof of the doonga. When the first boat was ready and afloat, an officer took a fancy to it and purchased it at a handsome profit. Pandit Naraindas found that boat building was a better business proposition than running a European store and soon he became the premier boat-builder of Kashmir, his yard turning out many a famous and well-built boat. His idea was later on improved upon by Colonel R. Sartorius, V.C., Sir R. Harvey, Bart, and Mr. Martyn Kennard. The latter built the famous two-storied houseboat, "Victory", in 1918 which is still standing majestically on the river at Raj Bagh and luxuriously furnished houseboats were built and owned by Europeans. The Indian visitor accustomed to living on land and away from waterways is rather out of element when he and his family have to spend a summer holiday in a houseboat.

Most of these houseboats are from 65 to 95 feet in the length and about 14 feet in width. They are partitioned into a sitting, a dining, a two or three bedrooms and a pantry with the required number of bathrooms and lavatories. They are equipped with modern furniture and many have sanitary fittings as well. The ventilation and lighting is ample, thanks to large glazed windows and doors. The ceiling is invariably of the Kashmiri Khatamband type, made of tiny, thin, carved pieces of wood arranged in beautiful geometrical patterns. The walls and partitions are built of grooved and framed panels fixed to the post running from the bottom to the roof. The boat is covered with corrugated iron sheets over which a flat deck is made of wooden planks and carved railings. This deck is accessible by a staircase running up from the pantry. The boats are built of teak wood and are rarely painted, the natural colour and grain and the sweet fragrance of the wood lending a charm of its own to the houseboat.

The development of rapid and easy means of communication no doubt bestowed manifold blessings on the people of the valley, but there came also its concomitant evils. The two roads with a growing traffic resulted in an increased import of diseases, particularly cholera, for cholera like trade, travels by road. Epidemics become more frequent and combined with the insanitary and squalid conditions which prevailed in the city and town, took a heavy toll of life. Due to insufficient diet and suppression of human liberty under the Afghans, Sikhs and early Dogra rulers, the vitality of the people had been undetermined and they fell an easy victim to cholera and other diseases. The worst epidemic was in 1892 when over ten thousand people died of it in the valley. writes Lawrence: "I was in camp during the epidemic, and moved through some of the most infected centers, and it believe that owing to the panic which set in, the registration in the districts was not so careful as it may have been in the city, and that 5,931 deaths does not represent nearly the total mortality from cholera in the village. Terrible gaps have been left in many families and villages which I know." Epidemics of cholera occurred later in 1896, 1902, 1906-07 and 1910 and an outbreak of plague in 1903-04.

Vigorous measures were taken to prevent the recurrence of epidemics by sanitating Srinagar and making available to the citizens clean and wholesome pipe-water. Roads and streets in the city were widened and paved, latrines built and arrangements for scavenging made. Vaccination against small-pox was first introduced in 1894.

As mentioned earlier, the church mission society of England set up a medical mission in Kashmir during Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign. With their selfless zeal, the two Neve brothers rendered medical aid to suffering humanities in Kashmir. Later the state government under

the advice of the Resident opened a well-equipped hospital in Srinagar with Dr.A.Mitra as its first Chief Medical

Officer Dr. Mitra with his untiring effort was also responsible for establishing a municipality in Srinagar and opening a number of hospital and dispensaries all over the state. A zenana hospital was opened in Srinagar and another in Jammu. With the growth of education among the people and the extension of medical facilities, the incidence of epidemics was considerably reduced.

Flood protection measures

The people whose material resources were on the increase with the dawn of the twentieth century had, however, to contend with another natural calamity which periodically visited the valley. It has already been mentioned that the formation of the valley makes it liable to heavy floods. During the Dogra rule there occurred several serious floods particularly in 1893 and 1903. The latter resulted from a heavy rainfall which continued for 48 hours in the month of July bringing down enormous quantities of melted snow from the surrounding mountain and in its wake causing destruction to life and property.

The expansion of Srinagar had started haphazardly. The low-lying land towards the south had developed into civil lines where there were European shops and hutments. The flood of 1903 swept away this locality and the Resident, Sir Luis Dane, decided to undertake flood protection measures on a long term basis. The State Engineer, Mr. Field, in collaboration with the Electric Engineer, Major A. de Lotbiniere were detailed to prepare a comprehensive scheme in this respect. After a survey of several months they submitted their note and chief recommendations.

These engineers seemed to have followed strictly the measure taken by Suyya 1200 years ago. They recommoded that to give a quiker and wider outlet to the flood waters of the valley, the bed of the river from the wulkar lake to generate at Mahora sixteen miles lower down. It is interesting to know that originally this power house which later on supplied electricity to the city was meant exclusively for the dredging operations.

Another important recmodation of the engineers was to dig a spill channel fron above Srinagar to a point 15 miles below it towards its west. This they thought would carry a large amount of flood waters and would definitely help in saving the city from destruction.

In 1905-06 the machnery required for the hydro-electric generated plan at Mohara and the dedgers for deeping of the river at completed by the end of 1907. Incidentally it may be mentioned here that was the second hydro-electric project then in india, the first one being in Mysore.

Dreding operation begun in 1908 and 1912 an area of 6,100 acres was reclaimed from round the round the Wulkar lake. It was allotted to cultivatoters for paddy cultivation.

Fortunately for the valley there were no major floods for a quater of a centuary. The dredging operations, through valuable in their own way, werelooked upon by the State as useless expenditure and in 1917 the dredgers were sold as junk. The result was that the old story of siliting up of the river bed in the Wulkar lake was repeated and when in 1928 there was a flood towards the end of August, the low lying parts of the city of Srinagar which had by then extended to a larger area were inundated and destruction was caused to the standing crops. Agian the State Goverment woke up to taking flood protection measures, but instead of having a long

term view of the situationn they startted again to build high bunds round the low lying parts of Srinagar—the chief aim being to save the city at the coast of the rest of the valley.

With the return of stablity in land tenture the devlopment of communications, adoption of flood protection measures and prevention of epidemics, there was a rapid increase in population by 1911. But in a place so predominantly agriculture and with such limited scope for increase in culticvable area and equally restricted sphere of expansion of agriculture, the need for indrustilization to relive the pressureon land was becoming imperative. True, the Kashmir goverment built a number of canals and repaired several which had fallen into disuse, but the increase in population. The result was an acute shortage of food

stuffs towards 1918. The State goverment, after long deliberations and trail of several schemes, finally adopted the old system of collecting a part of land revenue in kind and distributing it to the city population at a cheap rate. Thus came into beign the Food Control Department which has ever since handlled the collection and distribution of food grains in the Valley.

The scheme had two object in view . While on the one hand, it sought to come to the rescue of the poor peasent by advancing him cash for payment of land revenue, on the other hand it sold the paddy recovered from the peasent during the harvesting seasons to the citizens of Srinagar at a nominal profit. An efficient card system was deviced for distribution of paddy to the citizens at the rate of 42 lbs. per head per month. Well designed grainzes were erected at Srinagar for storing a year's supply of grain. This system worked admirabelly well and stood the stress of rising prices even during the second world war.

But even with this satisfactory control over the distribution of food. Stuffs in the valley the standard of life of the people was exterimly low. A very large number of peasents moved in winter to the Punjab to work as labourers at miserably low wages and suffered humiliation and hardship. Many of them died every year in places far off from thier homes. Kashmiri was the synonym for poverty and want

With the development of popular tourism, there came some relief as there was an increased demand for greator production of artistic articles for which Kashmir was famous from ancient times. Tourism benefitted boatman, traders, and servants who worked each summer for the tourist trade.

Sericulture too gave empoloyment to a large number of workers in Srinagar, and to numerous peasant who reared the silk worms in their homes during thier spare time. This ancient industry was dead during the Afgans rule and continued to be so under the Sikhs. Maharaja RanbiSingh attempetted to retrive it. But it was only after the accession of Maharaja Pratap Singh to the GAddi that serious effort were made to set up the industry and run it on a commercial scale and in a scientific and extensive manner. Seed was imported from Italy and france distributed among the ppeasant for rearing cocoons. A factory with large filatures containing over 300 basins for reeling cocoons was set up in Srinagar in 1907 and by 1921 the factory was having five filatures with over 1500 reeling and 760 cooking basins. Over fifty thousand rearers of silk worm in the village and 5,000 labourghed in the factory at Srinagar produced over one lakh kilograms of raw silk annually.

The supreme control of the state's administration by the government of india encourgement of several Euopean businessmen and entrepreneurs to try to secure

land and other concession in the Valley for the exploration of its mineral wealth. Vigne had written nearly a century earlier that "the tools of a Cornish miner may bring to light the hidden treasures of its iron, lead, copper and silver ores."

In 1901, one Major Anderson formed a firm called the Kashmir Mining Company and applied for and was given an exploring licence for the new Mining Rule for prospecting in Reasi and Rajouri. In 1907 he secured a mining and prospecting licence for the sapphire mines of Padar in Bhadawah Tehsil. He succeeded in extracting that year sapphires worth over 19,000 rupees. During the next two years he obtained sapphires to the gross value of Rs.105,000, out of which he paid 30 percent in royalty.

In 1908 a company named Kashmir Iron Mines and Power Syndicate, Ltd., was floated in London by the Earl of Errol, Viscount Church, Sir Robert Herman Hodge and others. Lord Errol and Major Hamilton visited Kashmir in 1907 and applied to the State government in the name of their company to grant them a ninety-nine year's lease of a large area in Jammu for the purpose of mining, laying a railway and installing a power station. The Maharaja who quickly realised the real motive of those gentlemen evaded the question of granting their request till the Mining Rule were framed and published although the resident intervened several times. The promoters of the company finding the rules very unfavourable to their projects, did not pursue the matter further. The Kashmir government thereupon set its own Department of mining for surveying and prospecting of the mineral resources of the state.

But in the case of improving the indigenous fruit of Kashmir, and introducing the European varieties, credit goes entirely to French experts. The fact that there were possibilities of turning Kashmir into an orchard

producing different kinds of delicate fruits and vegetables, was noted by all the European travellers from Bernier to vigne. The story of modern horticulture in Kashmir is interesting valley for the purchase of shals. One of these agents, M.Dauvergne, who was in Kashmir from 1865 to 1882 observing the grape vines growing wild in the valley, conceived the idea of making wine for his own consumption. News of his experiment reached Maharaja Ranbir Singh who asked M.Dauvergne to continue the manufacturing process on behalf of the State Government. The Frenchmen explained that unless the quality of vines was improved and better varieties imported from Europe and an expert in making wines and cognac called from France, the wine making industry could not be satisfactorily improved.

M.Ermens, formerly head gardener of public works in Paris, who was approached through the school of horticulture at Versailles, came to Kashmir and made a thorough investigation of the soil, climate, rainfall and other conditions prevailing in the state. He submitted a report for importation of various varieties of grape vines. Being a gardener by profession, M.Ermens brought with himself considering number of fruit plants which he believed would thrive in Kashmir, together with implements for starting an experimental agriculture farm.

The vine cutting and fruit trees were planted in Chashma Shahi in 1875 and four years later, when the grapes were plucked, M.Ermens experimented in making wine, but not being a distiller himself, his efforts did not meet with success. He recommended the securing of the services of two more experts—one to take charge of vineyards and the other to undertake the manufacturing process. These positions were filled by M.Bouley and M.Peychoud respectively.

These experts, however, although that in the

absence of a cart road linking the valley with rest of India, wine manufacturing industry could not be run profitably. They, however, realised the abundant scope for the production of high class fruit of European type. M. Bouley retired in 1887 and M. Peychaud continued the work alone. With the help of sardar roop singh, then Governor of the valley, he collected during the winter months of 1886-87 about twenty-five thousand wild fruit stocks, and this was the beginning of a nursery which has provided of incalculated benefit to the State. Grafted fruit plants were subsequently distributed to the State orchards. The State established a Department of Agriculture and Horticulture in 1907 and in 1908 a member from Kashmir sat in the Board of Agriculture of the Government of India. The fruit industry has flourished since then and with the passage of time has acquired a leading position in the export trade of Kashmir.

A stable government and the measures taken for promoting people's welfare, resulted in a phenomenal growth of population in the valley. Whereas in 1891 when the first census was conducted in the State, the population of the Valley including Muzaffrabad was only 814,241, it rose to 1,407,086 in 1921. The progress in various fields was not, however, achieved without the indigenous inhabitants paying a heavy price in the loss of their liberty, and bearing of contumely and disrespect from the arrogant bands of officers and clerks imported wholesale from the Punjab to run the administration.

For, one of the first orders issued by the State Council on its installation in 1889 was to change the court language from Persian to Urdu. This sudden and ruthless change took the old State official by surprise, and being dubbed as incompetent and corrupt they were thrown out of job. With three Members of the Council hailing from the Punjab, the administrative vacancies were quickly filled up with the Punjabis and this influx

continued till 1925, when the Maharaja had, following relentless pressure from the inhabitants of the State, to stop it by decree.

Opposition to the sudden changeover from Persian to Urdu came almost immediately from the people. But since the resident was wielding unlimited powers, it was a cry in the wilderness. The poor Kashmiri, illiterate and leaderless, could not command a hearing. Patently, however, he bore all the abuses that were heaped upon him. I think that many of the hard things said about the Kashmiris, wrote Sir Walter Lawrence are due to the fact that the official interpreters of their character have been foreigners, often grasping and corrupt, always unsympathetic. Mughal Subhedars and Pathan Sirdars dismissed all difficulties of administration and all humane suggestions emanating from their masters with the remark that the Kashmiris were dishonest, treacherous and Zulum parast.

Education

With the passage of time and increase in the number of youngmen educated in the schools teaching English, there grew and acute bitterness between the inhabitants of the state and the Punjab officials who has occupied every position of vantage in the administration of the state.

The education of the pattern imparted by schools and colleges in the rest of the country began late in the state. The mission school, the first to follow the University syllabus, was originally established by the Rev. J.S. Doxey in 1881, with only five boys on its roll. The good missionary content at having made a beginning and confident of its expansion persevered in his labours for two years after which he was succeeded by the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles who worked hard, and with his untiring zeal and fact the school made rapid progress. In 1892

when he handed over charge to Rev. C. Tyndale Biscoe, the number on the roll was over 500. The school made sustained progress under Rev. Biscoe and produced boys not only educated in English and other subjects, but moulded in the best traditions of an English Public School.

The State School, a sister institution, run by the state government was established originally by Maharaja Ranbir Singh in 1874, but it was a school in which education was imparted in Sanskrit and Persian. In 1886 Dr. A. Mitra raised the status of this institution to a regular school introducing English teaching and imparting education according to the University curriculum. Both the schools turned out a large number of matriculates every year who clamoured for government jobs, to be given to them in preference to the Punjabis. The persistent representation of the people, backed by the Maharaja, to the Government of India, resulted in instructions being issued to the state to give preference to the Mulki over the outsiders in the matter of employment. But the instructions were vague and very soon all those whose relations were in government service declared themselves to be Mulki. The struggle continued and in 1912 a definition of state subject was formulated for the first time. A state subject was one who had obtained an *Ijazatnama* or permission from the Maharaja's government to own land. But anybody could secure this permission without any effort, and the influx of outsiders continued unabated.

But the Kashmiris had by then made further advance in education. Early in 1905 a college was established at Srinagar through the efforts of Mrs. Annie Besant and another at Jammu in 1908. Many youngmen passed through their portals having drunk deep at the fountain of Western political thought. The agitation over

Curzon's Partition of Bengal, the movements for political freedom in Turkey, Ireland and Egypt, the growing strength of the Indian National Congress, filled these young men with ideas of freedom and equality and several of them, notably Pandit Shankar Lal Kaul, carried on a relentless agitation in the Indian Press for Kashmiris to be exclusively employed to man the administration of the State. Ultimately, the state government yielded to the pressure of public opinion and accepted the principle of recruiting only State subjects to government posts.

This agitation was mainly carried on by the Kashmiri Pandits who had originally suffered from the changeover from Persian to Urdu and whose main occupation was government service. It was this community particularly which took to the new education courses and very soon came up to the standard required for recruitment to the various categories of government service. But the Muslim community still remained backward and the State did not take any active steps to encourage them to learn even the three R's. Nor did the British who ruled the State through the Resident make any effort to push forward the Muslims on the path of literacy and education.

Political unrest

Meanwhile several influential Kashmiri Muslims settled in the rest of India, raised their voice against the policy of inaction followed by the state government with regard to educating the Muslims of the State. Finally in 1961, the Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, Mr. Sharp, was requested by the State government to make recommendations in the light of the conditions prevailing in the State. Mr. Sharp submitted his report after a thorough study of the problem, but though the Maharaja accepted his recommendations, his officials did

not implement them in the spirit in which they were made.

The Muslims were thus a frustrated community and in 1924 when the Viceroy, Lord Reading, visited the State, some of the leading members of the community submitted a memorial to him demanding the grant of proprietary rights in land to be given to the peasants, a larger representation of Muslims in government service, improvement in the condition of Muhammadan education in the State; abolition of Begar in all its aspects; and the restoration of mosques in possession of the government. The Maharaja to whom full powers had been restored two years earlier was greatly incensed at the submission of the memorial to the Viceroy. This was ascribed to the general swing all over India towards communal politics engineered by the British. There were moreover some demonstrations in the State-owned silk factory in Srinagar and also pseudo-political disturbances in the city. But these were in an elementary stage and the Maharaja's government put them down with a firm hand. Some of the signatories to the memorial were exiled and their property confiscated. While the discontent was seething and there was an ominous calm indicating the coming of a storm, Maharaja Pratap Singh breathed his last in September, 1925. Having no male heir of his own, he was succeeded by his nephew, Maharaja Hari Singh.

Intensely devoted to his religion, Maharaja Pratap Singh was a benevolent ruler. The secret of his popularity with the people was his accessibility to the humblest of his subjects. Possessing a remarkable memory, he followed the grievances of a petitioner and reprimanded the officer who neglected to redress them. He was genuinely anxious to see his people prosper, but at the same time he was jealous of permitting them to

form political or even religious societies or establishing a press. Addicted to opium, he was often made by his favourities and hangers-on to issue orders for which he later on repented, and which he tried to rectify or cancel.

Scarcely a day passed without some striking act on his part of generosity, benevolence and practical sympathy for those who were in trouble, and for righteous indignation for anything that was mean, cruel or oppressive. And it may rightly be said that the peace and security that the people enjoyed during his long reign were responsible for a growing consciousness of their rights and privileges and served as a resting stage to launch their successful for the achievement of a democratic government in Free India.

New Kashmir

When on October 26, 1947, the Maharaja appealed to the Government General of India, Lord Mountbatten, for military assistance against the invaders, he revealed his intention of forming an interim government in which Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah would be associated with his Prime Minister. The decision of the Maharaja was dictated by the fact that to fight back the invasion successfully to required the whole hearted cooperation and suport of the masses, represented by their political organisation, the National Conference. The ensuing months proved that it was a wise decision.

Government

For, with his departure to jammu along with the entire council of ministers, on the night of October 26, the Vally was left without a government and there was thus an apprehension of widespread disorders and consequent chaos seizing the land. It was at this moment of grave crisis that the National Conference stepped in to fill the vacuum. At once the district and Mohala Committees of the Conference took over the functions of local

administration and organised companies of volunteers to keep the peace and restore confidence among the people. Soon they had to face another problem, that or refugees pouring into Srinagar from the areas overrun by the raiders. They had to be given shelter and food. The citizens volunteered to take in batches of refugees into their own homes and to feed them till better arrangements were made. The more difficult problem was to keep the masses well informed of the real intention of the raiders the complete enslavement of the people and not to be misled by their self-assumed title of 'liberators of Muslim Kashmir'. This become more complicated with the reports reaching the Valley of communal disturbances in Jammu, where the incoming Hindu refugees from outlying district and West Pakistan had forced to Muslim to emigrate wholesale to pakistan. Fortunately, the communal peace and amity was not disturbed by these happenings and the masses kept steadfastly on to the path of communal harmony and of raising a united front against the invaders.

To this purpose, a small force of National Militia was raised and trained. The young recruits fired with patriotic zeal faced the invaders and at several points pushed them back. They naturally had to suffer casualties, but this did not reduce the steady flow of volunteers enrolling themselves in the Militia. After going through a short course of training they went to the front and fought side with their comrades-in arms from the rest of India.

The winter of 1947-48 was severe one, and immediately after the raiders were driven out beyond Uri, it snowed heavily, and the road and air communications between the Valley and the rest of India were completely cut. As already noted, Pakistan enforced an economic blocked of the State during the previous summer and there was an acute shortage of all essentials

of life in the Valley. Particularly did the people feel the 'want of salt which could not be had even for Rs. 10/- a seer. Similarly sugar, cloth, kerosene and petrol were non-available. Efforts were made to bring in supplies from over the snow-bound Banihal pass on porters, but it was fight against Nature. The people with a grim determination bore these hardships and kept their morale high.

With the coming of spring the road link was again established with Jammu. Supplies trickled through with the help of some old and rickety trucks. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammam, however, soon got a fleet of new truck chaises from Bombay. The Kashmiri drivers worked day and night to keep the convoys moving with their precious load of the necessities of life lashed on to the hastily constructed platforms on the truck chassis. Thus came into being the Government Transport Department, which can now boast of hundreds of trucks, buses, cars; an efficient and up-to-date workshop, and which now handles the major portion of goods and passenger traffic in the State.

The wholesale importers had lost their business contacts following the upheaval in the Punjab, and the imports had to be financed by a co-operative store set up for this purpose.

With the returning normal conditions of life, other problems cropped up. The tourist trade had come to a standstill, the fruit and cottage industries of the Valley suffered due to lack of transport. There was thus widespread unemployment. The Indian Army, however, gave some relief by recruiting a labour force and purchasing suitable local goods essential for the prosecution of the campaign against the raiders. But it was of only a temporary nature. Trade had to be revived. A number of emporia were opened in various cities in

India, and trade commissions were set up to enable the exporters and importers of the State to re-establish their business contacts with the trade centres in India and abroad. In fact these measures proved a boon to the workman, as he could now dispense with the services of the middleman who had been exploiting him so far. This silent revolution in the industrial and commercial set-up of the Valley, naturally gave birth to the industrial and multipurpose cooperative societies in the state, which in spite of corruption and inefficiency in the early stages of their life have become an essential part of the economic fabric of the people.

Meanwhile the fight against the invaders was going on with relentless vigour. The Emergency Administration rendered all-out assistance to the Army by providing civilian transport vehicles, pack-ponies, porters and labour. It built roads and bridges to enable a faster movement of troops. Accommodation for the army staff headquarters and for the troops on the march was provided in Government and private buildings. Above all the Administration and the National Conference kept up the morale of the people by their example and precept. The Cultural front set up under the direct supervision of Kh. G.M.Sadiq, with its dramatic performances, posters and popular songs and ballads was responsible for rousing the masses to a redoubled effort in driving out the raiders from the State.

As 1947 rolled out it was felt both in Kashmir and New Delhi that the "dual administration" of the Prime Minister and the Head of Emergency Administration could not function smoothly and therefore, the Maharaja conceded on March 5, 1948, full responsible government to the people. The Emergency Administration was converted into a regular Council of Ministers with Sheikh Abdullah as the Prime Minister.

The people had now every right to expect their popular government to implement the programme of social and agrarian reform as envisaged in the "New Kashmir" Plan. As an immediate relief to the peasants the government enacted laws for the protection of the tenant. They could no longer be ejected from the land. Previously the tenants had to provide seed and agricultural implements and give the landlord 50 per cent of the crop. Now he was allowed to retain two thirds of the production of paddy, pulses and other cash crops.

A moratorium was declared on debts incurred by the peasants and workers and with the institution of Debt Conciliation Courts old debts which were pressing heavily on the peasantry were scaled down by about 80 per cent from 11.1 million to 2.4 million rupees. The peasants could also have reinstated their rights in mortgaged property.

In April, 1949, the government appointed a Land Reforms Committee to prepare a plan for the abolishing of big landed estates and transfer of land to the tiller. The total cultivated area in the State was about 2,200,000 acres, most of which belonged to the Maharaja, his Jagirdars and a class of landlords called Chakdars. The landlords rented the land to the peasants under feudalistic conditions of tenure. They were paid by their tenants partly in kind and partly in cash. Besides, there were Mukararis who received cash payments from the State treasury under various religious and non-religious titles. The latter privileges were abolished forthwith with the exception of some grants to religious endowments.

But before the Land Reforms Committee had prepared and submitted its report, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah announced drastic and sweeping land reforms in a speech from the National Conference platform. The assent of the Maharaja, the Head of the State, was not

obtained and this announcement had to be regularised later by the enactment of a law.

The landlord was allowed to keep not more than 160 Kanals of agricultural land, 8 Kanals of land for vegetable gardening, 4 Kanals as residential site and 10 Kanals of orchard altogether 182 Kanals. The expropriated land was to be transferred in full ownership to the tenant to the maximum of 160 Kanals. He had to pay the regular land revenue. All land which were not under cultivation or not rented and in excess of 182 Kanals were transferred to the government for distribution to landless tillers or for collective farming. The question of payment of compensation, if any, was to be decided by the Constituent Assembly to be set up later.

The reforms no doubt freed the peasant from the unbearable burden of complete economic dependence of the landlord. In practice, however, it did not fulfill its intended objective, namely allotment of land to landless peasants. Without formulation a regular plan and enacting a law, the leaders announced the outline of the scheme from public platforms to gain in or political advantages. When it became known that the landlords had to surrender their estate above 182 Kanals, there was a scramble among the more influential peasants for the would be expropriated land and the Patwaris entered into negotiations with tenants and other villagers on the method of sharing it. Ultimately when the law came into force, it was found that most of the distributable land had already been allotted to non-deserving people. It was found that in many cases a tenant who shared in the distribution of his landlord's extra land was himself the owner of much larger area. The government did not moreover take into consideration the plight of those disabled persons and widows whose only means of livelihood was their land.

In the educational field the government took positive steps towards a revolutionary change in adopting the mother tongue of the bous as the medium of instruction in the primary classes. Multi-purposes schools besides impaarting educating in arts and sciences, gave instructions and practical lessons in handicrafts. More schools and colleges were opened, notably a woman's college in Srinagar. But the most important measure was the setting up of an University in the State

Education had made rapid progress in the State after 1931 and the number of students appearing in various University examinations was increasing in geometric progression. All the colleges in the State were affiliated to the Punjab University of Lahore. With the partition, the Indian part of the University had to face strenuous times and to set itself up from scratch. It naturally created a great difficulty for the students of the State. The Jammu and Kashmir University thus came into existence on November, 1948.

The Central Government extended its helping hand in setting up the University. Apart from financial aid from the Government it received moral support from top ranking personalities in India. The first Convocation is 1949 was addressed buy Jawaharlal Nehru. Dr. Rajendra Prasad and C. Rajagopalachari addressed its Convocation is 1950 and 1951 respectively. The University started on its career as an examining body, but slowly its was transformed into a teaching University. In recent years it has expanded into Arts. Science, Medical and Engineering Faculties and has its own enclave in charming surroundintg on thre western bank of the Dal Lake.

For providing medical relief to the masses the government set up some more dispensaries. There was, however, a shortage of physicans and surgeons, and a

number of students were given scholarship for studies in medicine at various Universities in India.

Assembly

But all these measures were taken by a government which derived its powers from the Maharaja. Though it enjoyed the support and confidence of the main political organisation in the State, it was felt that the weighty questions which had meanwhile cropped up could not be decided by the National Conference without referring them to the people. In October 1950, therefore, the General Council of the Conference passed a resolution asking for elections to a Constitutional Assembly for the purpose of giving to the State a Constituent Assembly on the basis of free adult franchise. The elections to the Constituent Assembly were accordingly held and the Assembly met for the first time in October, 1951.

Foreign correspondents and observers flocked to the State to witness the elections to this important body. The elections were conducted by an Election Commissioner appointed by the Yuvaraj who worked as the Regent of the Maharaja. The constituencies were delimited on the basis one member to forty thousand people. The franchise was based on universal adult suffrage and people were assured of a free and fair exercise of their vote.

All the 75 seats were won by the National Conference. There were only two contents in Jammu, which were also won by the National Conference. The total number of rejections was 14 and of withdrawals 11.

There was, however, nothing surprising about this sweeping success of the National Conference. In the elections to the Praja Sabha convened by the Maharaja's administration, the Conference had captured successively all the Muslim seats thrown open to election. As far back

as 1934, when election to the Praja Sabha were held community-wise, and the Muslim Conference was under the then leadership of the National Conference, the party had won 9 seats without a contest and for the rest of the Muslim seats its candidates were returned with overwhelming majority. In the 1938 election to the Praja Sabha, they won 19 out of 21 Muslim seats. In 1946, the National Conference boycotted and called upon the electorate to desist from participating in the elections held by the then government and the result was that not more than 8% of the electorate actually went to the polls.

The constituent Assembly had primarily been convened for three objects: Framing a Constitution for the State and finalising administrative arrangements with the center; 2 Deciding the future of the ruling family; and 3 Passing a verdict on the land owners' claim to compensation following the abolition of big landed estates.

Regarding the last two items, the Constituent Assembly had no difficulty in coming to a quick decision. It forestalled the abolition of monarchical system of Government in other Princely States in India. With the attainment of independence the institution of India Princes was becoming an anachronism and after acceding to the Indian Union, the princes by the force of public opinion, become constitutional heads of their respective States. In 1951, however, they still wielded influence and power and retained some vestige of dynastic rule. In Kashmir, the conditions were different. For twenty years the people had been agitating for a democratic form of administration and monarchy in any form was unacceptable to them. The Constituent Assembly which represented the will of the people, therefore, decided that the Head of the Jammu and Kashmir State, to be called the *Sadar-i- Riyasat*, be elected by the Legislative Assembly and hold office for a term of five years.

The assembly was equally emphatic over the non-payment of compensation to land holders affected by the Abolition of Big Landed Estates Act. Since the State was not in a position to pay from its exchequer huge sums of money to landlords in compensation and since they had already got enough returns on capital investment and interest thereof, the Assembly decided that no compensation need be paid to them. Cases of genuine hardship would, however, receive sympathetic consideration from the Government.

For framing a suitable Constitution the Assembly appointed several sub-committees. But since constitution making was a slow process, it was decided that the Constituent Assembly should convert itself into the Legislature of the State till the new constitution was adopted.

The framing of a constitution for the State brought to light the fissiparous tendencies encouraged by some of the leaders of the National Conference including Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah himself. Originally.

All the Princely States had accepted to the Indian Union in the three objects of defence, foreign relations and communications, retaining powers of internal rule in their hands. But with the rapid growth of political consciousness among their subjects, monarchy became anomalous in India and within the short span of three years all the States got merged and became after regional amalgamation, the Constituent States of the Union. Jammu and Kashmir State, however, did not refuse with the Union but retained rights of autonomy, which was recognised by Article 370 of the Indian Constitution.

Seikh Abdullah had thus a free hand to conduct the internal administration of the State. But with the loss of revenue due to the invasion and with a rapid increase in expenditure to finance the numerous development

projects, he was depending upon grants and subsidies from the centre. At the same time he was drifting away from the rest of India. This attitude of his was responsible for creating a strong opposition to his policies in Jammu and Ladakh.

In Jammu the opposition was spear-headed by the Parishad, a party which became vocal from 1949. It advocated the cause of the elements which have been adversely affected by the sweeping land reforms and other political and economic changes. In the numerous speeches of Sheikh Abdullah against the Maharaja's rule, the Jammu Dogra came in for sharp denunciation. To add fuel to the fire a few officials whom the government deputed to Jammu did not conduct themselves well. The net result of all this was that the Jammu masses began to get estranged from Kashmiris and it was as a direct result of that the Praja Parishad gained popular support in Jammu. Deriving inspiration from the Bharatiya Jan Sangh, the Praja Parishad declared its opposition to a separate flag and Constitution for Kashmir because these would encourage fissiparous tendencies by keeping alive a feeling of separatism. For the future safety and security of Jammu and Kashmir with which the safety and security of India was linked, it thought it essential that it should be brought fully under the Constitution of India by repealing Article 370 of the Indian Constitution.

A minor incident in connection with the hoisting of the Conference flag in a local college, led to a disturbance in Jammu as a result of which some Parishad leaders were arrested and imprisoned. Subsequently it transpired that these leaders had taken no active part in the demonstrations and through the personal remonstrances of the Indian States Minister, N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Sheikh Abdullah released them. But this "interference" provoked the Sheikh to make a speech at Ranbir Singh

pura, on April 10, 1952 in which he criticized Indian for communalism and warned against applying the Indian Constitution to Kashmir in all respects.

The speech caused an uproar in the country and the subsequent reactions of the press in Indian set in motion a vicious circle which assumed sinister proportions at the passing of every day.

In the Valley there was popular resentment against the government due to the inefficient handling of the food problem. Unfortunately the failure of crops in 1949-50 and 1950-51 led to a grave crisis. The Government of India, however, promptly came to the rescue of Kashmir and despatched large quantities of rice and wheat to the Valley. But the distributing agency- the Food Control Department- fell into the hands of some unscrupulous and greedy persons who sold a good portion of the grain into the black market. The food procurement drive added to the misery of the peasants who were forced to part with their stock of grain at nominal rates, while they had to purchase grain at exorbitant prices to pay the *Mujawaza*. The people's patience was exhausted and when the Food Minister, Mirza Afzal Beg, rose to address a meeting of the National Conference workers he was heckled and made to leave the conference room.

The working of the Co-operative Stores was also giving rise to discontent among the masses. All the essential commodities like cloth, sugar salt were distributed by these stores, but according to the findings of a government committee of inquiry appointed in 1952-53, the Co-operatives completely collapsed because of "corruption and malpractices" of their directors and employees.

Seikh Abdullah and his adviser, Mirza Afzal Beg, in order to regain their hold on the masses of the Valley

began to play hot and cold towards India. It was with this background that a session of the Constituent the reports of three sub- committees set up in the previous session. Mirza Afzal Beg announced tht the Basic Principles Committee was of the opinion that the State should form a republic eithin the Republic of India. The Assembly adopted the principle of abolition of monarchy and of having an elected Head of the State.

The Constitutional deadlock thus created was finally sought to be resolved by mutual negotiationa between the Central and State Governments. The position of the State in the Union was settled in what is popularly termed as the Delhi Agreement announced on July 24, 1952. India agreed to give a special position and status to Kashmir in the Constitution whereby complete internal autonomy was assured to the State. The hereditary rular would be replaced by a Head of the State who would be elected for a term of five years. Fundamental rights that are guranteed by the Indian Constitutional were to apply to Kashmir, subject to the provision that they would not encroach upon the programming of land reform. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court was to be limited, as regards kashmir, to inter-State disputes, fundamental rights and to matters of defence, foreign affairs and communications. The national flag of India was to be supreme. The emergency powers of the president of India were to apply in kashmir only "at the request of with the concurrence of the government of the Stata.

Seikh Abdullah alonce gave effect to the provisions of the agreement with regard to the Head of the State. On November 12, 1952, the Constituent Assembly in Srinagar formally adopted an amendment to the Constituent Assembly in Srinagar formally adopted an amendment to the Constituent Assembly in Srinagar formally adopted and amendement to the Constituent replacing the Maharaja's rulership by that of an elected "head of the

State" *sadr-i-Riyasat*. Two days later the twenty-one year old Yuvaraj, the Prince-Regent, was elected to the office. His election was formally recognised by the President of India, and incidentally it brought to end the hereditary rule of the Dogra dynasty.

No further action was taken by the State government with regard to other provisions of the agreement particularly the transfer of control of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

The Parishad thus got a handle to launch an agitation. Wholesale arrests were made and in May 1953 the President of the Jan Sangh, Dr. S.P. Mookerjee, demonstratively travelled to Jammu where he was arrested and detained in jail in Srinagar. The following month his death there from a heart attack "raised a storm of indignation in India against the regime of Sheikh Abdullah."

Events in Ladakh had taken a turn similar to Jammu. The district, long neglected by the Dogras, was slowly rising from its political slumber. Kushak Bakula, the head Lama, voiced the feelings of the people of Ladakh when he declared that in the event of Kashmir drifting away from India, the Ladakhis would sever their connection with the State and merge with the Indian Union.

These developments, created a psychological crisis in the mind of Sheikh Abdullah. He had already given out his idea on the Valley of Kashmir remaining an independent and neutral State. In formulating this idea he was encouraged by several foreign individuals. "On top of these reports" writes Korbai, "came the highly inflammatory rumours that the United States was backing the idea of Kashmir independence and that Sheikh Abdullah had been encouraged in it when Adlai Stevenson had visited Srinagar in May." Pandit Nehru, however, declared later that "If there is a modicum of

truth in them that is greatly exaggerated. I would say in the course of the last few weeks, in the course of the last few months and some time more, hard cases of this type of interference have come before us-individual interference. It would not be correct to call it government interference. It would not be correct to call it government interference, but individuals have not behaved properly, because again you must remember the basic fact that Kashmir is highly strategic area."

The political and economic situation in Kashmir was in the early months of 1953 passing through a severe crisis. The people in general and the National Conference in particular were astounded at the change of attitude of Sheikh Abdullah towards the position of the State in the Indian Union. The Majority of the Working Committee members headed by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed were opposed to the attitude adopted by the Sheikh. The whole question was thoroughly discussed in a marathon session of the Working Committee extending to three weeks held in Srinagar in May. Sheikh Abdullah failed to convert the members to his point of view and a resolution endorsing the accession to India and supporting the Delhi Agreement was passed with a majority of fifteen against four votes.

An open rift developed in the Cabinet also. Three of the five members differed on the measures taken by the government in ameliorating the economic condition of the people and the slow implementation of the provisions of the Delhi Agreement.

The final act was precipitated by the Sheikh's demand for the resignation of a member of his Cabinet, Mr. Sham Lal Saraf, the Development Minister. In his reply, Mr. Saraf refused to resign unless the whole Cabinet was dissolved and a new government formed. Finally on August 7, the three members, led by Bakshi

ghulam Mohammad, accused Sheikh Abdullah in a memorandum of making arbitrary decisions, of being responsible for deterioration in the administration, despotis, ineffiency and wanton wastage of public uncertainty, suspense and doubt in the minds of the people of the state in general and of those in Jammu and Ladakh in particular, "stated the memorandum "All these factos have combined to strengthen the disruptionist forces seeking the disintegration of the State Under these circumstances, what seems inevitable is that interestee foreigh powers may well take advantage of and exploit the situation fort their own selfish purposes. We have been, continued the Memorandum "constantly urgin upon uou to put an end to these unhealthy tendencies and to undertake unitedly measures for restoring the morale of the people. In spite of our best intention, we have failed in our efforts. The memorandum informed Sheikh Abdulah, in conclusion, that the Cabinet had lost the confidence of the people.

A copy of this memorandum was submitted to the sadar-i-Riyasat, who suggested an emervency meeting of the Cabinet under his President ship wherein the difference would be discussed and a solution found to them. Sheikh Abdullah refused the request and in the afternoon of August 8 : left on a weekend holiday for Gulmarg.

Meanwhile the Sadr-i-Riyasat faced with grave threat to the unity, Prosperity and stability of the State, by a serious rift in the Cabinet, acted promptly and issued an order on August 8, 1953, dismissing Sheikh Abdullah from the Prime MInister ship of the State of jammu and kashmir and dissolving the Council of Ministers headed by him. On August 9, he invited Hamshi Ghulam Mohammed to form a new government whose "continueance in official will depened upon its securing a

vote of confidence from the Legislative Assembly during its coming session."

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed accepted the invitation and was sworn in on the same day as Prime Minister.

The new Prime Minister immediately upon taking the oath of office broadcast his policy statement. He said that it had been a painful decision for them to part from their erstwhile colleagues, but in times of historic crisis when the fate of millions was at stake, personal relations and affections had to be subordinated to the paramount interests of the country. He narrated the course of events which led to the parting of the ways between them. "Recent developements have madde it abudantly clear to all of us that a betrayal of the country's interests and the traditions of our democratic struggle was in the offing, which would inevitabley have led to greve consequences. None of us could afford to watch complacently the repetition of the events whidh uprooted the lives of millions of people in the Indian sub-continent in 1947." The slogan of independence was higly misleading and there "should be no doubt as to the motive for sponsoring such an idea in the context of international developments in Asia and other parts of the world".

"An independent Kashmir", continued Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, "under the influence of an imperialist power will be a grave threat to freedom and indepandence of Indian and Pakistani People. In view of the geographical position of the state, such independence is bound to involve us in a bitter and violent international controversy and another Korea may be staged here as a result of the armed conflict between interensted powers."

He then gave an objective survey of the State's accession to Indi which gave a position of security and

honourable status to a small state like Kashmir " with its poor resources, backward economy and complex geographical situation. "He declared that "the secular and democratic traditions and ideology of our national movement have established indissoluble links with the democratic movement in India. "He then mentioned that the key to the crisis lay in the deep-rooted economic discontent of the masses of the State. During the preceding five years "serious shortcomings in the handling of the economy of our state have led to some violent dislocations in a number of trades and professions resulting in unemployment and under-employment, economic maladjustment and a heavy fall in the living standard of the people".

He then announced some ameliorative measures to ease the economic distress. the Mujawaza leveel was abolished forthwith: the price of paddy reduced by Rs. 2/- per Kharwar the Co-operatives were to be reorganised and the government would allow reopening of competitive retail shops: co-operative debts would be stayed in case of genuine distress. His policy would be to provide employment to villagers throughout the year, by developing cottage industries and a planning Commission would be appointed to devise ways and means for raising the productivity of the State.

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed announced the abolition of education fees in schools and colleges from the primary to the post graduate classes. "Every effort", he stated, "will be made to develop our national language particularly Kashmiri, Dogri and Ladakhi. "He announced that the State Emporis would be recognised and cheap credit made available to handicraftsman. Better amenities would be provided for tourists and the permit system would be abolished.

Born in 1907, Bakshi Mohammed, the new Prime

Minister started his career as a school teacher and was later employed by the all Indian Spinners Association. Here he had an opportunity of coming in contact with some of the close associates of Mahatma Gandhi, and having a thorough understanding of the Swadeshi Movement. He entered politics in the early twenties when he was arrested for taking part in the movement boycotting foreign goods. In 1931 he threw himself wholeheartedly into the national struggle and had to suffer in the repression which followed. It was due to his organising abilities that the National Conference developed into a well knit, extensive and wide spread organisation in the State. During the 1946 'Quit Kashmir' Movement he went to India to work for and direct the movement and when finally he had to go he returned to Kashmir in triumph.

When the Pakistan inspired invasion took place Bakshi rose to the occasion and by his untiring efforts organised a people's resistance against the raiders. By his wise untiring efforts organised a people's resistance against the raiders. By his wise handling of the situation following the Maharaja's departure for Jammu, he prevented panic spreading among the people and the way he kept the whole Valley under control is a tribute to his popularity and his genius for organisation.

In the first popular government formed by Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed occupied the position of Deputy Prime Ministership. His entire attention was devoted to the organisation of the Militia, the Transport Department and the development of cottage and other industries. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed gained immense popularity as Deputy Prime Minister with his easy accessibility. A man of the people, Bakshi was known for his rugged common sense and quick decision.

As was to be expected there were outbursts of anger among a section of the people in the Valley, following Sheikh Abdullah's arrest, the demonstration being engineered by the personal followers of the Sheikh. But very soon the situation came under control and with the quick realisation of the imprecation of the 'independent Valley' idea by the general mass of the people, life returned to normal throughout the State. In fact in September a convention of the workers and representatives of the National Conference from all the local committees in Srinagar, which gave an overwhelming vote of confidence to the Bakshi government and approved the action taken by him with regard to Sheikh Abdullah and his personal followers.

In Pakistan there were demonstrations of anger against the Government of India for having, they alleged, managed to put Sheikh Abdullah behind the bars. When the Sheikh turned for them from a Quisling to a patriot was difficult to say. The prime Minister of Pakistan at once rushed to New Delhi and had a conference with Pandit Nehru, after which a joint communique was issued, affirming the settlements of the Kashmir situation by holding a plebiscite after the preliminary steps for preparing the ground were taken by a committee of officials from both the countries. As has been mentioned above, the whole scheme was sabotaged by the Pakistan press who raised a storm of vituperation against India and its leaders as soon as the joint communique was published.

When the Constituent Assembly met in Jammu in February, 1954, it passed a unanimous vote of confidence in Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and his Cabinet. On February 6, the Constituent Assembly confirmed the State's accession to India. The reports of the Basic Principles Committee and the Committee on Fundamental Rights were also adopted the same day.

The Basic principles committed report stated that "in order to enable the Centre to discharge its responsibilities, which devolve upon in under the Constitution, those provisions of the Constitution of India which may be necessary for this purpose should be made applicable to the State in an appropriate manner. While preserving the autonomy of the State all obligations which flow from the act of accession and also its elaborations as contained in the Delhi Agreement should find appropriate place in the Constitution."

As a practical consequence of the report, the customs barrier was removed on April 13, and thereby Kashmir became economically and integrated part of India. The Central compensated the loss of revenue to the State by a subsidy amounting to twenty million rupees a year.

On May 14, 1954, a Presidential Order was issued incorporating the recommendations of the State Constituent Assembly in the India Constitution.

The Drafting Committee presented the draft of the new constitution to the Assembly on October 10, 1956. It was unanimously adopted on November 17, 1956 and came formally into effect on January 26, 1957, the seventh birthday of the Republic of India.

In regard to all basic matters, the state constitution is identical with the Indian Constitution. It provides for a parliamentary form of government, a bicameral legislature, adult suffrage, an independent judiciary, a Public Service Commission, and other democratic institutions. In the matter of Fundamental Rights, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and the authority of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, the State is like any other in the Union. The State's official language is Urdu which is one of the recognised Indian languages in the Constitution. The Directive Principles of

the State Policy are also modelled after those of the Constitution of India. The State is to establish and preserve a socialistic order of society. The Constitution has a firm secular basis.

During recent years various measures have been taken to consolidate the State's ties with the rest of the country. The State entered into financial arrangements with the Union Government in 1957 which brought it on par with other states in respect of financial matters including proportionate allocation of funds from the centre.

A state cadre of I.A.S. and I.P.S. officers has been created and these officers are trained through the Union Ministry of Home Affairs.

The State's participation in the Northern Zonal Council has widened the area of co-operation with other states in the Zone leading to greater exchange of experience, technical know how and pooling of administrative and other resources in various fields of development.

The Accounts and Audit Department of the State is now under the Auditor-General of India whose nominee runs the Department in the State and accounts of revenue and expenditure are subjected to audit and scrutiny of the Auditor-General.

In 1959 the State Assembly unanimously decided to seek amendment of the State's Constitution to provide for the extension of the jurisdiction of the Election Commission of India and the Supreme court over the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The recommendations of the State Legislature have been incorporated in the Indian Constitution through a Presidential Order issued on January 26, 1960.

The permit system which put restrictions on the

entry of Indian national into the State was finally abolished on April 1, 1959.

In its recent session the Legislative assembly passed an Act authorising the Government to permit those non-state subjects to purchase land and other immovable property in Jammu and Kashmir who intend to set up industries in the State.

The constituent Assembly passed in the capacity of the provisional Legislature, the People's Representation Act providing for delimitation of Constituents for the purpose of election to the Legislature Council. It also made provision for free and fair conduct of the elections. In pursuance of this act the Sadr-i-Riyasat issued an order on February 11, 1957 for the Delimitation of Constituencies. The total number of constituencies in the State is 75, out of which there are 30 in Jammu province and 45 in Kashmir province including Ladakh and Kargil.

Elections to the new legislature were held in March, 1957, and once again the National Conference candidates swept the polls winning 68 out of 75 seats. The Praja Parishad won 5, Harijan Mandal 1 and Independents 1.

Opposition, however, began to develop within the National Conference and was led by Mr. G.M. Sadiq, a former Minister and a veteran leader of the National Conference. He and his colleagues, Syed Mir Quasim, Girdharilal Dogra and D.P.Dhar formed, with their supporters, a new party, the Democratic National Conference. After two years of acrimonious opposition, there was a rapprochement between the two groups, Mr. Sadiq formally dissolving his new party and rejoining along with his colleagues the National Conference.

The second elections to the State Assembly were held in 1962 along with the General Elections in India,

under the control and the supervision of the Election Commissioner. During the previous five years of the Bakshi government there had been on all round progress in the state and it was but natural that the electorate should return the nominees of the National Conference to the Legislature. Out of 75 seats the National Conference secured 70.

The last ten years have witnessed a phenomenal change in the state in economic and cultural fields. An expenditure of eleven crore rupees was incurred on the implementation of the first five year plan. Though the targeted outlay for the second five year plan was about rupees 34 crores, the state could spend only rupees 26 crores.

In the field of agriculture, food production increased considerably. The installed capacity of power which was only about 4,000 kw before the implementation of the plans has been increased to over 24,000kw. Side by side with the development cottage industries, new factories have sprung up. The labour force has increased from 6,000 in 1952 to 10,000 in 1961. The per capital income which was Rs. 188 in 1950-51 has gone up to Rs.237 in 1958-59. In the field of social services, the state government has achieved notable success. There are now an engineering college, a medical college, two agricultural colleges, two polytechnics, and a host of such institutions. Similarly in the field of health the state has sixteen hospitals as against six in 1951-52. The number of dispensaries has increased by three times the number a decade ago. Some heavy industries have already been established, particularly the cement factory at Wuyan, 12 miles to the south-east of Srinagar. Industrialists from the rest of India have become increasingly interested in exploring the possibilities of setting up factories in the state in view of the availability of extensive raw materials. The third plan envisages an outlay of rupees

seventy-five crores and when it is fully implemented Kashmir would have gone a long way in banishing poverty, ignorance and want.

Nowhere is this all round progress more visible than in Ladakh, a district which had during the last hundred years been entirely neglected and the people exploited to the verge of starvation. The man responsible for bringing the miserable condition of Ladakhis to the notice of the Governments of the state and India is Kushak Bakula, the head Lama of Ladakh. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed on his assuming the office of Prime minister in August, 1953, appointed Kushak Bakula as the Deputy Minister for Ladakh Affairs. Since then the State Government has made all-out efforts in ameliorating the economic condition of the people there. Schools have been opened in far off hamlets in Ladakh and education is making rapid progress. Medical relief has been provided by opening dispensaries in the chief towns and villages. Moreover Army doctors are carrying medical relief to the farthest corners of this frontier region. A jeepable road has been built linking Leh with Srinagar. There is too regular air service to Leh. Internal communications have been improved by building roads, bridle paths and bridges.

Ladakh has recently come into international news on account of the dispute over the entire Sino-Indian boundary. The dispute concerns three sectors. The first is the eastern part of the frontier from Bhutan to Burma known as the Mc Mohan line which was actually delineated at a Tripartite conference in Simla in 1913-14 between the Governments of India, Tibet and China. The second sector concerns the frontier where Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab come up to the Chinese border. The third known as the western sector concerns Indian boundary in Kashmir with China.

The Indian maps for nearly a century have been showing the traditional international frontier in this sector which follows well defined geographical features and has been defined as follows.

Between Lanak La in the Ladak region of the State of Jammu and Kashmir the international boundary follows the eastern and western watershed of the Chang Chemmo and southern watershed of Chumesang and thence the southern bank of Chumesang and the eastern bank of Changlug Lungpa. Skirting the western extremity of the eastern half of Pangong Tso the boundary thence follows the Ang watershed and cutting across Spanggur Tso, follows the north-eastern and northern watershed of the Indus".

The boundary thus includes a large piece of territory known as Aksai Chin projecting out to the north-east. The altitude of this area over 16,000 feet-and the composition of its soil, together with extremely cold climate, makes it unfit for human habitation. Known as Soda Plain, the area is desolate where not even a blade of grass grows. But it has considerable strategic value for the Chinese as forming the shortest road link between Tibet and Sinkiang. Taking undue advantage of the traditional friendship with India, strengthened by the principles of Panchasheel to which both the governments have subscribed, the Chinese without even informing the government of India constructed a motorable road over this Indian territory in 1956-57 from Yehcheng in Sinkinang to Gartok in Tibet. The only excuse they could give was that they did not come across any Indian patrol and therefore thought that the Indian authority had never been established nor exercised over the area.

The first incident on the Ladakh border occurred in October, 1958, when the Chinese troops crossed into Indian territory and occupied the Khurnak Fort. That this

point was actually Kashmir territory was accepted as early as 1924 in a conference of the representatives of Kashmir State of India and the Tibet Region of China. No claim had been ever affirmed that the Fort-formed part of the Tibet Region of China. The Indian Government lodged a protest with the Chinese Government at this incursion into Indian territory in July, 1958, and informed them that the Government of India proposed to send a reconnaissance party to the area.

The patrol which was actually sent to the area near Shinglung could not be traced. The Government of India lodged another protest in October over the construction by Chinese of a motor road across Aksai Chin area. It also made enquiries concerning the missing patrol, since the Chinese had now their personnel in this part of Indian territory. In their Memorandum of 3rd November, 1958, the Chinese replied that they had actually put the patrol under detention, but in the spirit of area to "deport them from Chinese territory through the Karakoram Pass on 22nd October."

Further incidents occurred throughout 1959. On 20th July, Chinese forces penetrated into Indian territory near the Pangong Lake and took captive an Indian police party engaged in reconnaissance work. They then established themselves at Spanggur. The Government of India in their Note of July 30, to the Counselor of China in India protested against this violation of the Indian frontier and demanded the immediate withdrawal of Chinese forces from there.

The most serious incident occurred in October of the same year. An Indian police party, on patrol near the Kong Ka Pass in the Chang-chenmo valley in Ladakh had its three members detained by the Chinese frontier guards. A search party was sent out on the following day but was fired on by the Chinese. In this encounter nine

Indians were killed and seven captured. Those who were captured were put to severe interrogation for several days and confessions obtained from them under pressure. Finally on Indian protests they were released and returned on November 14.

The Chinese Prime Minister proposed that to avoid further clashes, the Chinese and Indian armed forces should withdraw twenty kilometres from the line up to which both countries had established control, although unarmed police and civil administration should still be allowed to function in the respective areas. Shri Nehru made a counter-suggestion that Indian personnel should be withdrawn to the west of the line which the Chinese Government considered to be the boundary line, as shown on its latest maps, while Chinese personnel should be withdrawn to the east of the boundary line as shown on Indian maps. This arrangement, he pointed out, would leave a considerable space between the forces of the two countries, and being of a mountainous nature would not require any civil or administrative personnel. The Chinese Premier however declined to accept the proposal, as it would tantamount to the withdrawal of Chinese personnel from Aksai Chin through which they had built a road.

Finally after much correspondence the two Premiers met in Delhi in April, 1960. The meeting couldnot produce any agreement between the Premiers concerning the points at issue. It was, however, decided that the historical material should be further studied both in Peking and Delhi by Chinese and Indian officials, and reports made to their respective governments on the results of their research.

After three meetings which the officials of the two countries had in Delhi, Peking and Rangoon, they presented a report to the Chinese and Indian Governments in February, 1961.

The evidence relating to the Western Sector produced by the Indian side showed that at least from the tenth century onwards important points on the present Indian alignment were recognized as the traditional limits of Ladakh on the one side and Tibet on the other. There were a large variety of documents and unofficial maps of different countries including China which established that at least from the sixth century onwards the southern limits of Sinkiang did not lie south of the Kuen Lun ranges and only reached up to these ranges towards the end of the 19th century. This makes it clear that the Aksai Chin Plateau and the Lingzitan plains were never a part of China. There was also documentary evidence establishing that these areas had been utilized by the people of Ladakh and administered by the governments of Ladakh and Kashmir. Police check posts, for instance, had been maintained by the Kashmir Government in the Aksai Chin area as far back as in 1865. There were also continued series of revenue and assessment reports covering in detail all the areas now claimed by China. Trade routes running through this area were maintained by the Kashmir Government and in 1870 the British Indian Government signed an agreement with the government of Kashmir securing permission to survey the trade routes in these areas.

A starting fact which came to light during these discussions was that the Chinese side declined to discuss questions pertaining to the boundary of Kashmir State west of the Karakorum pass. This refusal tantamounted to questioning the legality of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India. It was pointed out by the Indian side categorically that Kashmir was a part of India and it was legitimate responsibility of the Government of India to deal with this sector along with other sectors of the Sino-Indian boundary. The Indian side, therefore, placed on record, in the broadest outline, the evidence supporting the alignment shown by India in this section.

The intensions of the Chinese side with regard to this section became clear when it was announced that Pakistan and China were considering the opening of talks between the two Governments with regard to the delineation of the boundary of Kashmir State west of the Karakorum pass. India, however, made it clear that since it was the whole state of Jammu and Kashmir that had acceded to India and was by virtue of that accession an inalienable part of the Union, it would not recognize any decisions that might result from the talks between the Chinese and Pakistan Governments. The Government of India in a Note dated June 30, 1962, said that China had not only departed from its earlier policy of non-interference in the Kashmir situation, but was giving "legal and moral encouragement to an aggressor state and prejudicing the prospects of a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir issue between India and Pakistan.

The only solution to the dispute was the recognition by China of the natural boundary formed by the majestic arc of the Kuen Lun and the great Himalayan ranges which has been recognized in tradition and custom for centuries, has determined the limits of administration on both sides and has received confirmation during the last 300 years in valid international agreements.

People of Kashmir under the leadership of the National conference were engaged in a bitter fight with feudalism and bureaucracy as represented by the Maharaja's government—when thousands of workers were undergoing various terms of imprisonment for offering Satyagraha or civil disobedience—events of a vital and far-reaching consequence were taking place in the rest of the country. British imperialism was crumbling fast before the massive blows of Indian national movement and the day of India's independence was drawing near. by 1947 the British were convinced that India could no longer be held in thralldom and acting on the advice of

the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, the British Government published a Plan for the partition of India. On June 17, the Indian Independence Act was passed stating that on August 15, 1947, the British would relinquish their authority in India which was to become an independent country. A part of its territories with a preponderating Muslim majority was to be constituted into Pakistan and recognised as an independent and sovereign State.

The partition was necessitated by the sinister passions roused by intractable and interested parties among a section of communal-minded Muslims and Hindus during the long struggle for emancipation of India from foreign domination. The freedom movement aimed at not merely freeing India from British domination but also building a secular, independent and democratic India. Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and Parsis - all made sacrifices for this great cause. Against it stood many sectarian, pseudo-religious, feudal and other vested interests. The Muslim League represented one of these. It set itself against the main stream of Indian nationalism, endeavouring to sow disruption and discord by perverting religious beliefs to incite hatred. The League provided a counterpoise to the growing national movement and, as such, it received encouragement and support from various quarters. But the national movement grew in strength and when at the end of the second world war it became clear that Britain could no longer rule India and that the Indian national movement was on the eve of its final victory, the League intensified its activities and caused tremendous strife, aided no doubt in this by its Hindu counterpart. It was in this context that India was partitioned between composite Indian nationalism on the one hand, and reactionary political sectarianism, on the other, India accepted the partition as it provided the only peaceful means of attaining freedom.

The medieval concept of nationality based on religious belief has always been foreign to the Kashmiri. The long tradition of religious toleration has created in him a secular outlook on human relations, which has time and again asserted itself during the course of his long history. True, there were moments when attempts were made by interested parties to arouse communal passions-in 1923 for example when there were a few skirmishes in some parts of the State and in 1931 when there were a few skirmishes in some parts of the State and in 1931 when the freedom struggle started-but very soon the people regained their balance and kept to the path of communal amity and religious toleration. By 1947 the politically conscious people of Kashmir had gained enough maturity to resist the snares of communal hatred as preached by the leaders of the League. The partition naturally gave them a severe shock, but they were not directly affected by it.

For, it applied only to what was known as British India. Besides the fear that the western wing of Pakistan which touched the borders of the State and might create difficulties in maintaining communications with the outside world, the Kashmiris were faced with a graver problem, namely, the future of the Jammu and Kashmir State itself. On the lapse of Paramountcy of the British Crown over all the Princely States, of which there were 562 when India attained independence, the problem arose as to what was to be done with them, because they were not directly ruled by the Government of India.

The question of their future was defined in a memorandum on 'States Treaties and Paramountcy' presented by the Cabinet Mission to the Chancellor of Princes in India. 'When a new fully self-governing or independent Government or Governments come into being in British India, His Majesty's Government's influence with these Governments will not be such as to

enable them to carry out the obligations of paramountcy. Moreover, they cannot contemplate that British troops would be retained in India for this purpose. Thus, as a logical sequence and in view of the desires expressed to them on behalf of the Indian States, His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise the powers of paramountcy. This means that the rights of the States which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and that all the rights surrendered by the States to the paramount power will return to the States. Politically arrangements between the States, on the one side, and the British Crown and British India, on the other, will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the States. Politically arrangements between the States, on the one side, the British Crown and British India, on the other, will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular arrangements with it".

To this effect the British Government made an announcement simultaneously with the announcement of the partition scheme on June 3, 1947:

"His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above (about partition) relate only to British India and that their policy towards the Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of May 12, 1946, remains quite unchanged."

The legal provision under which the princely States could enter into a "federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India" was to be found in the Indian independence Act of 1947 and the India Act of 1935. These two Acts of the British Parliament, which created the legal basis for the

independence of Indian, provided that a State could accede to the Dominion of India by an Instrument of Accession executed by the ruler thereof. It was also provided that Indian States acceding in this manner shall become an integral part of the Union of India. This legal position was affirmed on several occasions by the late Mr. Mohanmmad Ali Jinnah who was the architect of Pakistan and its first Governor-General.

But to prevent a dislocation of the arrangements "with regard to customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs, or other like matters", during the period between June 17, when the Government of India Act was passed, and August 15, when India became independent, the Ruler of a Princely State could enter into a standstill agreement with either or both the independent Dominions.

In the absence of accession, however, the Union of India was responsible for the defence and protection of Indian States, since it had succeeded to the British Crown in the same way as the British Crown had succeeded to the Mughal Emperor. The United Nations recognised the Union of India as the successor State to the pre-independence Government of India as the successor State to the Pre-independence Government of India by allowing it to continue its original membership, while admitting Pakistan, on her application, as a new member State.

This was the legal and constitutional position in which the Jammu and Kashmir stood on the eve of independence. But there were several practical difficulties which made the question of accession of the State to any one of the Dominions complicated. The foremost was the attitude of the Ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh, Himself.

For years after the lease of Gilgit to the British, the Maharaja was given wide latitude by the Government of

India in the exercise of his powers. With his unstinted support to their war effort his position became all the more strong, and when there arose an extensive movement among the masses to end the British rule in India, the Maharaja's hands were further strengthened by the British to enable him to kill opposition to his rule in the State. This explains the strong measures that his prime minister, Ram Chandra Kak, took to suppress the 'Quit Kashmir' movement launched by the National Conference.

All along these years the Maharaja was dreaming of an independent Kashmir State protected and aided by the British Crown. He, as many of his class, could not visualize the exit of the British from India and the end of the all-powerful British Empire. Encouraged in his ideas by several of his British officials in whom he appears to have placed trust, he refused to see and understand the dynamic changes that were taking place in the political scene in India. He cherished the dream of his State standing "independent, of course with friendly and cordial relations with both the Dominions".

Though all the States acceded to India or Pakistan on various dates before or immediately after 15th August, 1947, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir delayed his decision in regard to accession. He had clamped the popular leaders and a large number of their followers behind his prison gates and had shut his eyes to the historic forces that were shaping the destinies of the one-fifth of the world's population. He little thought that these very forces were to determine the future of himself and that of his State.

To apprise him of the grave risk he was taking by his indecision, Lord Mountbatten visited Kashmir on June 19, 1947 and remained there for four days. 'When he got there,' records Campbell-Johnson, "he found the

Maharaja politically very elusive and the only conversations that took place were during their various car drives together. Mountbatten on these occasions urged him and his Prime Minister, Pandit Kak, not to make any declaration of independence, but to find out in one way or another the will of the people of Kashmir as soon as possible and to announce their intention by 14 August, this year. He did not do that, and what happened can be seen. Had he acceded to Pakistan did not then exist, and therefore could not have interfered. The only trouble that could have been raised was by non-accession to either side, and this was unfortunately the very course followed by the Maharaja."

but he was not indecisive about the oppressive measures he was adopting against the National Conference. The people were in great distress and it was at the request of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed who was indefatigable in his exposition of the issues involved in the freedom struggle going on in Kashmir, that Mahatma Gandhi paid a short visit to Srinagar in early August. He saw the Maharaja, but from his later speeches it appears was not successful in convincing him of the desirability of meeting the demand of the people for a constitutional government.

Standstill Agreement

The sand of time was running out fast, and fearing a breakdown of the communication system through Pakistan and the rich export trade with India, the Maharaja sought from both the Dominions a standstill agreement to come into force on August 15, 1947.

The history of the standstill agreement is contained in the telegrams exchanged between the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, on the one hand, and the Prime Minister of Pakistan, on the other. There was a similar series of telegrams between the responsible Minister in

New Delhi and the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

As a result of the telegrams that passed between the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of Kashmir, a standstill agreement was arrived at "with regard to her (state's) communications, supplies, and post office and telegraphic arrangements.

On 12th August, 1947 an identical telegram was sent to the Government of India stating that the "Jammu and Kashmir Government would welcome standstill agreement with Union of India on all matters on which these exist at the present moment with outgoing British Indian Government. It is suggested that the existing arrangements should continue pending settlement of details and formal execution of fresh agreements. These arrangements, according to the Treaty of Amritsar of 1846, comprised the use of Indian forces if there was internal rebellion or invasion by a foreign government.

The Government of India, however, did not accept the offer immediately and telegraphed back:

"Government of India would be glad if you or some other Minister duly authorised in this behalf could fly Delhi for negotiating standstill agreement between Kashmir Government and Indian Dominion. Early action desirable to maintain existing agreements and administrative arrangements.

But before the Prime Minister could go to Delhi to discuss these matters, Kashmir, was invaded. Therefore the standstill agreements which the State was trying simultaneously to conclude with the two countries were interrupted and other developments followed.

Frontier raids and economic blockade

It was early in 1947 when serious communal riots and disturbances became the order of the day in the Punjab,

and there were large-scale movements of refugees from one part of the province to the other, that the Maharaja had stationed his troops at several strategic points on the borders of the state. A British officer, Maj-General Scott, who was in overall command of the troops deployed them in small batches all over the frontier with the result that no reserves were available for meeting a large scale invasion from across the border. However only a few days after Pakistan accepted the standstill agreement, Maj-Gen. Scott submitted his first report to the Jammu and Kashmir Government on the border raids from Pakistan. On 4th September, on the basis of his reports, the Kashmir Government protested by telegram to the West Punjab Government against armed Muslims from Rawalpindi district infiltrating into the state. Two days later there was a marked increase in this activity. Maj-Gen. Scott reported more armed raids into State territory by Pakistan nationals and soldiers on 13th, 17th, 18th and 28th September. On 3rd October, Kashmir Government protested to Pakistan against hundreds of armed people from Murree Hills in Pakistan operating in Poonch. Further incursions into Kashmir took place on various dates during October.

In contrast to Lord Mountbatten's assurance to the Maharaja that India would not object if he decided on his state acceding to Pakistan in accordance with the established procedure, Pakistan was determined to coerce the State into accession to her, despite a Standstill Agreement which she had with the Ruler. Besides the several incursions by her armed forces and nationals into the state territory, she began an economic blockade of the state. Supplies of food, petrol and other essential commodities to Kashmir were cut off. Communications were tampered with and free transit of people was hindered.

The Government of Jammu and Kashmir made repeated representations to the authorities in Pakistan appealing to them to lift the blockade and stop violation of State territory. These representations brought forth only brazen denials. On October 15th, the Maharaja cabled to the British Prime Minister, whom he thought still to be the over-all protector of Indian States, about the economic blockade of the State by Pakistan and the beginning of the invasion from Pakistan in Poonch. He went on to say:

“People all along the border have been licensed and armed with modern weapons under the pretext of general policy which does not appear to have been followed in the case of internal districts of West Punjab. Whereas military escorts are made available for several other purposes, none is provided for safe transit of petrol and other essentials of life. Protests merely elicit promises which are never implemented. As a result of obvious connivance of the Pakistan Government, the whole of the border from Gurdaspur side up to Giigit is threatened with invasion which has actually begun in Poonch.”

It was on the same day (October 15) that there began the siege of Fort Owen; nearly 5,000 Pakistan raiders were involved in the operations.

Pressed on all sides by the hostile actions of Pakistan and realizing that the British Crown was powerless to help, the Maharaja tried to win back the support and good will of his subjects. He had early in August dismissed Kak and appointed temporarily a retired minister, Thakur Janak Singh, in his place. Two months later he appointed Mehar Chand Mahajan, a prominent jurist of Punjab, as his Prime Minister. To reestablish peaceful relations between the ruler and his subjects, Sheikh Mohammad Adbullah and most of his colleagues were released from jail on September 29.

O their release, the leaders of the National Conference found Kashmir faced with the important question of whether she should accede to the Indian Union or to Pakistan, or remain independent. But there was another more crucial question which also awaited recognition and solution, namely the freedom of the people. So they thought and said that this important question could be decided by the people of Kashmir only when they were free. They requested Pakistan not to precipitate a decision upon them, but give them time and to support the freedom movement of Kashmir. One of the leaders, G.M. Sadiq, went twice to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, with the same request. The reply came in the form of the economic blockade and incursions of their armed forces into the State territory. By October 22, infiltrations and raids were transformed into a full-scale military invasion of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Between the settled districts of the North-Western Frontier of West Pakistan and the Afghan border lies that strip of hilly land that is known as the tribal territory whose area is 24,986 square miles and whose population is estimated at 2,378,000.

The people inhabiting this tribal area were a constant source of anxiety to the British Government. Sturdy, warlike and quick to pick quarrels, they are extremely poor and backward in education and civilization. It was the constant practice of these people to raid Indian villages within the British jurisdiction for loot. They kidnapped men, women and children for ransom. The British government tried to stop their depredations and purchase peace by paying them a huge amount of "hush money" every year. Even so, it was neither easy nor possible always to have peace on the Frontier. Indeed, the British government had sometimes to resort to aerial bombing to keep them down.

When the British transferred power, one of the problems left unsolved by them was that of the tribal people, and Pakistan had to tackle it. Grores of rupees were spent by the British out of Indian revenues to appease these people, but th enewly-born State of Pakistan could ill afford to spend so much money on them. Besides, the leaders of Pakistan who upheld religion to be the basis of nationality would lose face if they treated the tribal people, their co-religionists, in the British way. There was again another meance growing rapidly in the North-Western Province, of the Pathanistan movement which demanded autonomy for the Pathans. It had to be nipped in the bud before the movement lured the Pathans both of the North-Western Froniter Province and the tribal areas into one hostile camp. The urgent need felt by Pakistan to force the issue in Kashmir, and secure its speedy accession to Pakistan contained a possibility of solution of more than one problem. To hold out to the pooor tribal people the alluring promise of land and plenty in Kashmir, to give them a lurid description of the supposed atrocities perpetrated on Muslims so that they might be worked up to fever pitch, and allow them a free run of the beautiful Valley, would secure Kashmir, solve the problem of the poor tribal people, kill the Pathanistan movement and secure Pakistan's safety and prosperity—all in one stroke! What was needed was expedition and promptitude.

So the tribal people were let loose on Kashmir territory. They had to march through miles of Pakistan rerritory to reach the borders of the Jammu and Kashmir State. We have already noted the intense activities of hostiles all along the 500-mile Pakistan border and their "softening" process set into operation. The raids, small and big, had tested, baited, decoyed and dispersed the forces guarding the security of the State. These raids grew into a regular warface. On October 22, 1947, a large

force of armed raiders entered Muzaffarabad in 300 lorries and began looting and burning. They were armed with modern weapons, including Bren-guns, Sten-guns, grenades, heavy mortars, anti-tank rifles and land mines and an unlimited supply of ammunition. They were led by Major-General Akbar Khan, under the name of General Tariq and other Pakistan officers fully conversant with modern strategy and warfare.

After the sack of Muzaffarabad the invaders continued their progress along the Jhelum Valley road towards Srinagar, bringing death and devastation to the inhabitants of villages and towns on the way. Their triumphant march was temporarily stemmed at Uri, a town 65 miles from Srinagar by the demolition of a bridge and the gallant resistance of about 150 men under the command of Brigadier Rajinder Singh of the State army, who was killed fighting a memorable last-ditch battle.

The heroic exploit of Brigadier Rajinder Singh and his ill-assorted band of a few regular soldiers, cooks, mess waiters and orderlies who had taken up arms on his orders, is unique in the military annals of the world. Born in the family of Jamwal Rajputs on June 14, 1899, he lost his parents at the age of four and was brought up by an uncle. He graduated from the P.W. College in Jammu and at the age of twenty-two was directly commissioned as Lieutenant in the State forces. He rose in rank quickly and by his abilities as a disciplined soldier and an able commander became Chief of Staff of the State forces on August 14, 1947.

On the fateful day of October 22, he was attending to his official duties in the Srinagar Cantonment when the news reached that a largescale invasion had taken place at Muzaffarabad and that the raiders were on their way to Srinagar. There were no reserves near at hand,

and collecting all the available soldiers and non-combatants, he could with difficulty muster a small force of about 150 men. But the city had to be saved and the only way to do it was to stem the hostile advance on the saved and the only way to do it was to stem the hostile advance on the road below Baramula. Brigadier Rajinder Singh decided to march at the head of the small column towards Domel, 112 miles from Srinagar.

But Domel fell and the enemy forces advanced and dug themselves in strategic positions at Garhi, 16 miles further up. They offered stiff resistance to the small column led by Rajinder Singh. Despite suffering heavy losses he grimly held on for sometime and when the raiders tried to encircle his troops, he decided to pull out and withdraw to Baramula.

This withdrawal raised the morale of the enemy who advanced as far up as Uri. After reorganising his battered column at Baramula the Brigadier dashed to Uri. Facing the main body of the raiders there, he employed a different strategy, namely, to halt as long as possible the advance of the invaders to Srinagar. He destroyed the bridge which cut off the forward line of the raiders from the base. Attacked from three directions the Brigadier suffered heavy losses and withdrew his column to Mohora and then to Rampur along the Jhelum Valley road, with the raiders, in chase. Here he offered a grim fight to the enemy for eleven crucial hours. But he had to pay a heavy toll and finally ordered the remanant of his men to withdraw. While they were fighting their way to a position of safety, Rajinder Singh guarding the rear single-handed, kept up a steady fire. It was here that an enemy bullet hit him in the right arm and another got embedded in the right leg. But this did not silence his gun. He was soon encircled by the raiders and killed.

But he had saved Srinagar by checking the advance

of the enemy for three invaluable days. This interval had enabled the airfield in the capital to receive the first wave of defenders from India.

With no opposition now from the State forces, the raiders surged forward. Having meanwhile managed to construct a diversion, about a mile long, which must have required considerable engineering skill to build and was apparently effected by the sappers and engineers of the Pakistan army, they captured Mohora and damaging the power house there plunged the city in darkness. It took them only a few hours to envelope and enter Baramula, the chief town in the Valley, which they captured on October 26.

The Sack of Baramula

It was a calamity for the peaceful inhabitants of Baramula. Hundreds were cut down in cold blood. Houses were burnt and looted. No distinction was made between Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian. The entire Mission building of St. Joseph's Convent was ransacked and then burnt to the ground. The chapel was strewn with smashed glass and plaster. The Assistant Mother Superior, three nuns and British officer's wife were killed. According to the correspondent of the New York Times who visited the town after the raiders were driven out by the Indian Army, the "surviving residents estimate that 3,000 of their fellow townsmen, including four Europeans and a retired British Army officer and his pregnant wife were slain".

There in Baramula they seized the young hero of the National Conference, Maqbool Sherwani, "interrogated" him for several days and at last tied him to a post in the centre of the town, drove nails into him and when he did not even then recant his belief in secular democracy, emptied their bullets into his body. For several days earlier when the tribesmen were terrorizing the

countryside, "Sherwani, who knew every path in the Valley, began working behind the line, keeping up the morale of the besieged villages, urging them to resist and to stick together regardless of whether they were Hindus, Sikhs, or Muslims, assuring them that help from the Indian Army and people's Militia was on the way. Three times "by skilfully planted rumours he decoyed bands of tribesmen and got them surrounded and captured by the Indian infantry. But the fourth time he was captured himself."

With the occupation of Baramula by the raiders, Srinagar itself was threatened. They, however, lost four valuable days in looting and killing in Baramula and when they after all marched on Srinagar, they met with resistance from the local Militia and the Indian Army which ultimately proved to be their doom.

For, at that critical hour in the history of Kashmir when the marauding invaders were a few miles from the capital, the National Conference took up the task of defending the city and surrounding districts against invasion. Thousands of volunteers from all communities came forward to offer resistance to the invader and under the inspiring leadership of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed a sizeable force was hurriedly trained in rifle shooting including a company of women volunteers. A night long vigil was kept for any tribesmen entering the city by stealth or any fifth columnist creating panic. All available civil motor transport was requisitioned and kept ready for the Indian Army who were expected to come to the aid of Kashmiris at their hour of peril and misfortune.

Accession of the State of India

Sheikh Mohammad abdullah flew to New Delhi to personally appeal to the Indian Cabinet to despatch armed forces to help Kashmiris repel the invaders. Meanwhile the Maharaja alarmed by the invasion of his

country and by the prospect of disaster which seemed imminent appealed to India on October 24, for military help.

On October 25, a meeting of the Defence Committee took place in New Delhi under the Chairmanship of Lord Mountbatten in which the Maharaja's request for supply of arms and ammunition was considered. At this meeting General Lockhart, the commander-in-Chief in India, read out a telegram from the headquarters of the Pakistan Army stating that some 5,000 tribesmen had attacked and captured Muzaffarabad and Domel and that considerable tribal reinforcements could be expected. Reports showed that they were already little more than thirty-five miles from Srinagar. According to Campbell-Johnson "the Defence Committee considered that the most immediate necessity was to rush in arms and ammunition already requested by the Kashmir government, which would enable the local population in Srinagar to put up some defence against the raiders. The problem of troop reinforcements was considered, and Mountbatten urged that it would be dangerous to send in any troops unless Kashmir had first offered to accede."

Following the session of the Defence Committee, V.P. Menon, Secretary of the States Ministry, was sent to Srinagar to explain the position to the Maharaja and to get an eye-witness report of the situation in Srinagar. "The information which V.P. [Menon] brought back to the Defence Committee the next day [October 26] was certainly disturbing. He reported that he had found the Maharaja unnerved by the rush of events and the sense of his lone helplessness. impressed at last by the urgency of the situation, he had left that unless India could help immediately, all would be lost. Later in the day, on the strong advice of V.P., the Maharaja left Srinagar with his wife and son. V.P. had impressed upon him that as the

raiders had already reached Baramula it would be foolhardy for His Highness to stay on in the capital."

The Defence Committee thereupon "decided to prepare to send troops by air the following day and to accept the accession if it was offered. On the same day Mr. Menon flew back to Srinagar, this time returning with both the signed accession and the request for troops, in addition to the arms and ammunition which were due."

But irrespective of Kashmir's accession it was the duty of India to come to its aid in the hour of its peril. India was the successor State to the former British Government which was responsible for the protection of all the Indian States from foreign aggression.

The accession of the Jammu and Kashmir State to the Union of India was accepted by the Governor-General, Lord Mountbatten, in precisely the same way as in the case of other Indian States. the accession was thus complete in law and in fact. Jammu and Kashmir State thenceforth became an integral part of India and its defence the concern of the whole country. Lord Mountbatten, however, wrote a separate letter to the accession of Kashmir State to the Dominion of India." To remove any apprehensions that the people of Kashmir may have with regard to accession the Governor-General conveyed the assurance that in accordance with the policy of the government of India "that in the case of any State where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, it is my Government's wish that, as soon as law and order have been restored and the soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people". It was a promise to the people of Kashmir which the Government of India fulfilled later with the holding of elections on universal adult franchise

to the Constituent Assembly of the State which approved the State having acceded to India on October 26, 1947.

Fight against aggression

On October 27, the first batch of Indian troops under the command of lieutenant-colonel D.r. Rai flew to Srinagar. They flew because that was the only medium of transport left to them, at such short notice. By land, they would have been too late. Some 300 miles of precarious fair-weather road lay between the nearest Indian contonment at pathankot and Srinagar.

Over a hundred civilian aircraft were immediately mobilised to fly troops, equipment and supplies to Srinagar. Indian Air Force and civilian pilots and ground-crews rose to the occasion and worked day and night to make the air-life a success. The ferry service to Srinagar continued unabated up to November 17, during which time 704 sorties were flown from Delhi.

Seldom in the history of warfare has an operation been put through with no previous planning and with many handicaps, not the least of which were almost non-existent lines of communication and a complete lack of intelligenece of enemy dispositions.

When the first troops were flown for Srinagar, they were instructed to circle over the airfield before landing. They were not sure whether the airfield had not fallen into the hands of the enemy. As a matter of fact, the instructions of Col. Rai were not to land if there was any doubt on the point, but to fly back to jammu. After an interval of tense suspense, at 10-30 a.m. a wireless flash from Srinagar announced the safe landing of the first wave of troops.

There was widespread jubilations among the citizens of Srinagar and the inhabitants of neighbouring towns

and villages. For five anxious days they had carried on the normal life, kept the essential services going, and maintained a strict discipline. Their morale was high, they did not give way to panic, and they organised bands of volunteers to maintain law and order and order and keep a strict watch on strategic points. For five days they faced manfully the alarming reports of the raiders' advance and their eyes were constantly cast to the skies in the hope of seeing the first Indian plane coming with the sorely needed help and relief. They had collected all available motor-vehicles and kept them ready to carry the first troops to the front. Local drivers were at the wheels ready to risk their lives in defending their land.

The headquarters staff of this Command consisted of just eight officers. The units under the Command had been fully committed on internal defence duties, distributed in penny-packets, escorting non-Muslim and Muslim refugee trains and foot columns and maintaining law and order. The training of units had therefore suffered considerably. Most units had got somewhat disorganised following the partition of the Army and the withdrawal of the British element.

Instructions to send a battalion to Srinagar were received by the Command headquarters at 1 p.m. on October 26. One battalion of the Sikh Regiment, under Lt-Col. Rai, which was then employed on internal defence duties at Gurgaon, was ordered to concentrate at Palam airfield.

By midnight on October 26-27, the Commanding Officer of First Sikhs managed to assemble his battalion headquarters plus one company at Palam. Clothing, rations and ammunition were issued to the troops at the airfield, and by first light on October 27, the Sikhs were airborne. The battalion headquarters was flown in three Indian Air Force Dakotas from Palam and one

company took off in civilian Dakotas from Willingdon airport.

Later in the day, one more company employed on railway protection duties arrived at Palam. The remainder of First Sikhs was still out on detachment duties and had to be brought to Delhi to be flown to Srinagar the following day.

On October 27, when the first wave of Indian troops under Col. Rai landed in Srinagar, the invaders were already in Baramula. Thirtyfive miles of fine tarmac road was all that lay between them and Srinagar.

Col. Rai's orders were to defend the airfield and consolidate his position. On landing, however, he found himself faced with a dilemma. He had to take a quick decision - the enemy was at Baramula, the strategic bottleneck which opens into the Srinagar valley. Once the invaders were allowed to enter and fan out into the Srinagar plain, the game was up.

Should he give immediate battle to the invaders - estimated at anything between 3,000 to 5,000 - at Baramula, with his wefully inadequate force or wait till adequate reinforcements arrived? Col. Rai took the decision and crashed into the invaders' column at Baramula.

The civilian buses rushed his troops to within two miles of the town. Holding one company in reserve, he put in an attack with another company. He found, however, that it was no ill-organised rabble that he had to contend with but an organised body of men armed with light and medium machine-guns and mortars, divided into units and sub-units, and led by commanders who knew modern tactics and the use of ground.

Col. Rai's company was deployed on a hill along the main road, sometime after battle had been joined Col. Rai

discovered that large parties of raiders were working their way around his flanks and that machine-gun fire was coming from the flanks as well as from the front.

There was a serious threat of both his companies being encircled and annihilated. thereupon, col. Rai decided to withdraw to pattan, half way between Baramula and Srinagar. He got his reserve company away in bases and gradually began to pull out his leading company which was at that time committed. He himslef remained with the forward section to make sure that all his troops moved back safely.

The last party of Indian troops had to run the gauntlet of heavy fire in order to escape the trap. many fell dead, among them was Col. Rai himself - the victim of a sniper's bullet. But he ad succeeded in his object—he had staggered the enemy, disorganised his column and halted his advance long enough for reinforcements to arrive from India. by his courage and dash vital progress in the saving of Srinagar was achieved.

The troops, however, left without a commanding officer, fell back to a point only 31/2 miles from Srinagar. But the same night they went forward again, reoccupied Pattan and went even further to the 26th milestone from Srinagar. Threre they found the raiders swarming around the countryside. They then fell back on Pattan, where they occupied a ridge and dug in.

Meanwhile, a brigade headquarters and a flight of IAF Spitfire, Tempest, and Harvard aircraft for closer co-operation and air reconnaissance were flown from Delhi. The 161 Brigade arrived in Srinagar close on the heels of the First Sikh Regiment. Brigadier L.P. Sen, who won his DSO in the famous battle of Kangaw in the Arakan during the last world war, arrived in Srinagar and took over command of all Indian and State Forces in the Srinagar valley.

The situation in the first week of operations in Kashmir can best be described as "touch and go." The threat to Srinagar continued, even increased. For the Indian Army, the week was one of desperate struggle to gain time for adequate troops to be flown in from India. That struggle took the shape of offensive delaying actions.

Scanty intelligence reports of the raiders' movement indicated that there were at least four columns of raiders converging on Srinagar and the airfield, one column moving from the west from Baramulla, another from the south-west, a third from the north-west and fourth from the north.

On November 3, a company of the First Kumaon Regiment, which in the meantime had been flown in under Major Somanth Sharma, went out on a fighting patrol to Badgam, nine miles southwest of Srinagar and hardly half a mile from the airfield.

The company ran into an enemy force, 500 to 700 strong, who attacked supported by 3" and 2" mortars. The encounter lasted over four hours. Maj. Sharma led his men with remarkable skill and inflicted many casualties on the enemy. Brigh, Sen, realising that the Kumaonis were faced with a body of well armed raiders infinitely superior in numbers immediately dispatched reinforcements. But before they could reach the Kumaonis, Maj. Sharma was killed when a two-inch mortar bomb exploded near him.

The loss of the commander as well as the fireceness of the enemy's attack resulted in the two forward platoons of the Kumaon company being overrun. The third platoon fought on and when the reinforcements arrived, the situation steadied up. The enemy's casualties in this action were estimated at about 200, while the Kumaonis suffered 15 killed and 32 wounded. The air

support by IAF fighter aircraft to our troops proved invaluable in his engagement, which removed an immediate threat to the airfield and gave the ground forces more breathing time.

When it was noticed that the raiders could bypass our position at Pattan, 17 miles outside Srinagar, and infiltrate into the city itself, Brig. Sen decided to pull back his troops to a point 41/2 miles due west of Srinagar city. In so doing, he strengthened the defence of the city as well as shortened the line of communication of his troops.

Since the withdrawal from Pattan almost coincided with the Badgam engagement, the raiders got away with the impression that the Indian Army was in full retreat. They thereupon concentrated their main body astride the Baramula road and faced our forces entrenched outside the city.

Thus, while the enemy was preparing for a final assault on the city, the Indian forces were fast building up for an offensive. Major-General Kalwant Singh arrived in Srinagar on November 5, and took over command of all the forces in Jammu and Kashmir. At the same time, one squadron of armoured cars adventured their way to Srinagar by the perilous 300-mile Banihal Pass and over rickety bridges fit only for light tourist traffic. In Srinagar, large crowds lined the route and loudly cheered the cavalcade as it rumbled past.

The raiders' main position had been spotted and the stage was set for the projected offensive. On the morning on November 7, the Indian troops attacked the enemy. At the same time one troop of armoured cars and detachment of infantry which were patrolling in the Gandarbal area were ordered to manoeuvre back so as to take on the enemy from the rear. Brig. Sen sent one force of armoured cars and troops north of the Anchar lake to

go behind the raiders' positions which were hinged on a village called Shalteng. He dispatched another column supported by armoured cars straight down the Baramula road and battalion of infantry to attack the raiders' right flank. IAF fighters gave close support from the air.

The battle at Shalteng lasted 12 hours. Trapped from three sides, surprised by armoured cars and pursued from the air by the IAF, the raiders fled westwards in disorder, leaving behind 300 dead. The IAF in this crucial engagement and during the follow-up, played a decisive role.

Baramula recaptured

With this battle the Indian Army turned the corner. it was a decisive victory, which broke the back of the enemy drive, demoralised the invaders and enabled the Indians to go over to the offensive. It removed the threat to Srinagar once and for all.

Indian forces took up the pursuit and arrived in Pattan the same evening. The next day, November 8, they made for Baramula and after some skirmishes on the road, entered the town in the afternoon.

To their great disappointment, however, they found that the slight delay in their advance, caused by shortage of petrol, had enabled the main party of raiders to escape from Baramula along the road to Uri and Domel.

Even before they reached Uri, the Indian column ran out of petrol at least twice and had to wait for replenishment from Srinagar. The civilian buses were unsuitable and too few to meet the needs.

The momentum of the victory should have taken the Indian forces straight to Muzaffarabad if only they had enough petrol and military motor transport. It was later revealed that the invaders were in headlong retreat and

there were no enemy troops in reserve even in Muzaffarabad to make a stand against the Indians. In between, most of the bridges had, of course, been blown up by the retreating forces, some of them beyond repair and others incapable of permitting even a diversion.

On November 14, Indian troops entered Uri, 65 miles from Srinagar, without much of a battle. With its recapture the first and most hazardous phase of the Kashmir campaign had been completed. An immediate threat to the Srinagar valley had been removed.

As the tribal invaders were triumphantly driving up the Domel road towards Srinagar, a local revolution was being hatched up at Gilgit under inspiration from Peshawar. In pursuance of the British Government's announcement that the control and administration of Gilgit would be returned to the Jammu and Kashmir State late in July 1947, the Maharaja deputed Brigadier Gahnsara Singh as Governor of Gilgit. No sooner did the latter arrive at Gilgit than he was faced with a catalogue of demands from the officers and JCOs of the Gilgit Scouts, who under the direction of certain British and Muslim Officers had conspired to get Gilgit merged into Pakistan. The Governor, however, tried to win the sympathies of the local population who welcomed the return of Maharaja's rule. But the Gilgit Scouts under one Major Brown continued to remain sullen and as the tribal invaders were knocking at the gates of Srinagar, the tension increased at Gilgit. On midnight of October 31, the Governor's residence was surrounded by the Scouts who demanded his immediate surrender. The Governor was put under arrest and a provisional government was formed by the rebels under Major Brown. On November 4, the Governor ceremonially hosted the Pakistan flag in the Scouts Lines in Gilgit and in the third week of November Peshawar sent its political agent to rule over Gilgit. The Mirs and Rajas of the Gilgit district had no hand in the

revolution, nor did the people of the territory take active part in it.

During the winter months, the Indian Army in Kashmir fought two enemies. Holding the raiders at bay was easy. Throughout the period, the raiders could not gain an inch of territory, and every attempt to break through or bypass Uri was beaten back resolutely. But the Indian Army's joust with "General Winter" was indeed a grim and heroic struggle.

A majority of Indian troops had never seen snow before. Nor were they armed with special snow-fighting equipment. With the blocking of the only land route to Srinagar by snow and the stoppage of the air service, the supply situation became acute.

During these difficult months the Army in Kashmir largely remained on the defensive, confining itself to long-range reconnaissance and offensive patrolling. Its battle against the elements was fought by lone piquet perched on snow-clad mountains and by patrols venturing out into uncharted country, breasting the blizzards and hailstorms.

In the middle of January, a party of 1,500 raiders, moving along the north bank of the Jhelum, concentrated on the other side of the Mohora power-house, intent on seizing or disrupting it.

Our troops threw a steel cable across the 100-yard width of the Jhelum, and with the aid of ropes and pulleys, got across the river under cover of darkness. Their heavy equipment and ammunition were ferried. The column then fell on the raiders at dead of night. Asleep and taken by surprise, the raiders fled in disorder. Among the killed was their commanding officer.

The raiders made repeated attempts to storm our piquets one after the other. Every time they were beaten

back. Failing either to break through or bypass Uri, raiders advanced over the track linking Muzaffarabad with Tithwal and made for Handwor, on the northern approaches to the Srinagar valley. An Indian column met them there and dispersed them, recapturing some of the villages that had fallen into their hands.

All this time, the battle against "General Winter" was being fought with grim tenacity. At one stage in February, the Indian Army's supply depot at Srinagar had just ten gallons of aviation spirit in stock. The civil population - whose morale was a most important factor in these operations - suffered acutely from a shortage of salt, which sold at Rs. 10/- a seer in Srinagar.

The brunt of the battle against winter was, however, borne by Indian Army drivers and sappers. In the past, for four winter months of the year, the Banihal pass, choked with snow, used to remain closed to traffic. The Madras Sappers and Miners valiantly strove to keep this pass, the bottleneck of the Jammu-Srinagar road, clear of the snows.

Thanks to their efforts, from December to the end of March, three convoys, consisting a total of 300 vehicles, got through to Srinagar. Each time, however, a few vehicles at the tail end of the convoy got stuck and remained buried in the snow. The snow fell so thick and fast that not even a 15 foot long pole poked into the snow mounds could touch the top of the buried vehicles.

Though the winter battle had been won, the melting snows brought forth a new problem for the Indian Army engineers and lorry drivers to contend with. While the Banihal Pass was cleared of snow, the 200 mile tenuous road, hewn in the side of the Himalayan ranges was not plagued with landslides. Large chunks of mountain, with trees, boulders and all, slipped on to the road and completely obliterated it.

The sappers and the pioneers were kept busy sweeping these chunks of mountain out of the way, as supply convoys remained held up.

While it froze and covered the Kashmir Valley with a white mantle, winter appeared in a different guise in Jammu. Here it was all slush and quagmire created by the winter rains which impeded mobility and made life miserable for our troops. Abnormal rain even swept away bridges along the life-line from Pathankot and constricted supplies to the troops.

Thus while the Kashmir front hibernated, the activity in Jammu intensified, thanks to the advantages enjoyed by the enemy on this front, in the shape of shorter, better and more numerous lines of communication.

As against the single 75-mile road that we possessed from Jammu to Naushera, which was repeatedly rendered unusable by the winter rains, the raiders relied on shorter lines of communication consisting of the first class all-weather Jhelum-Mirpur road and Sialkot-Jammu road, besides numerous other tracks to supply their troops.

Stung by their initial reverses against the Indian Army and enjoying as they did many material advantages, the hostiles in Jammu occupied themselves during the winter months in spirited attacks. One or two temporary successes were gained by them, as in the case of the recapture of Jhangar. In their own territory they were well entrenched, while our troops remained on the defensive, owing to the limitations imposed by winter.

Winter also gave our commanders, for the first time, some respite to think and plan and regroup. Kept on their toes from the moment the troops landed in Srinagar on October 27, they were kept hurrying about, plugging

in leaks in the hastily prepared defences relieving encircled State Force garrisons and rescuing thousands of refugees.

Maj. Gen Kalwant Singh, GOC, Jammu and Kashmir Force had valiantly struggled to build up a fighting machine from scratch, even while he fought a well prepared and resolute enemy. Now he gradually geared that machine for planned offensive operations.

Srinagar had been rendered safe. The menace to the Pathankot-Jammu line of communication had been effectively removing. by a forward policy and the institution of a chain of piquet, the Pakistan-Jammu border had been largely sealed off against nuisance raids from across. Our forward positions had been consolidated. The situation in the territory already held by the Indian Army had been stabilised and normal life restored.

The task of looking after and administering relief to thousands of rescued refugees also fell largely to the lot of the Indian Army. While Srinagar was blest with communal harmony, the situation in Jammu was complicated by communal tension, which made the task of Gen. Kalwant Singh and his troops all the more difficult.

It was a backwash of the terrible happenings in the adjacent Punjab. As non-Muslim refugees poured into Jammu from across the border, with their harrowing tales of suffering and misery, they produced repercussions in the State resulting in retaliatory disorders.

As winter gave way to spring, the back has been broken of all these problems, and Gen. Kalwant Singh now planned to move forward.

The first objective of the spring offensive in Jammu was Rajauri, 30 miles north-west of Naushera. The

operation was distinguished by careful and elaborate ground and air planning. The advance began on April 8. The 30-mile stretch of country which the Indian troops had to traverse was thickly wooded and well defended with enemy machine-guns and mortars.

Barwali ridge, seven miles north of Naushera, was the first hurdle. The ridge was held by informed, steel-helmeted hostiles, armed with 3-inch mortars, two medium machine-guns and eight light machine-guns.

The approaches to Barwali ridge were difficult and a frontal attack was necessary. Moving under cover from heavy fire and effectively supported by tanks, a Dogra battalion charged the enemy's positions and occupied their objective by 4 p.m.

Chingas, half-way to Rajauri, was the next objective. Lying on the old Mughal route linking Naushera and Rajauri, Chingas was the base from which the hostiles and launched their abortive assaults on Naushera.

From Barwali ridge the Indian column split up and fanned out, with different strategic features around Chingas and Rajauri as their respective objective. Kumaonis and Jats overcame stiff opposition on a feature parallel to Barwali ridge and reached Katari village overlooking Chingas. Chingas itself was entered by armoured cars. The armoured cars found the town in flames. The raiders had resorted to arson and murder before departing. It was a "scorched earth" policy with a vengeance.

On the right flank, Rajputana Rifles operating from Kot maintained their advance and reduced Mal village. On the morning of April 12, the Jats came down into the Chingas valley and after crossing the Tawi captured a hill overlooking Rajauri. An armoured column followed by Kumaonis entered Rajauri late that evening. This

operation saved the lives of 1,200 to 1,500 refugees, mostly women. Of these 300 to 500 had been lined up to be shot when the Indian column arrived.

In this operation, Indian troops had not only to contend with well prepared and well laid enemy positions but also numerous landslides and roadblocks. It cost the hostiles approximately 500 killed and the Indian Army suffered 11 killed and 40 wounded.

The atrocities committed by the hostiles in Rajouri put Baramula in the shade. Our troops expected a warm welcome from 5,000 refugees as well as local inhabitants. When they entered the town, they were appalled by an eerie silence. Rajouri was city of the dead and dying.

Before the hostiles departed, they had carried out a general massacre of the population. Heaps of rubble, mass graves and decomposing corpses told the tale. So did the sword and hatchet wounds and burns on the person of the survivors, who slowly trickled back to their destroyed homes.

Of the 600 houses in to town, half has been destroyed, some by fire and others by picks and shovels. In the bazar, all that was left were a few pots and pans and some cooked chappaties left behind by the raiders in their haste to get out. This was the second massacre that Rajouri had witnessed. The first was staged when the raiders entered the town in the flush of victory.

The enemy reacted to their loss of Rajauri by mounting another determined attack on Jhangar. On April 16, 6000 raiders stormed that outpost, were beaten back, and suffered 200 casualties.

Representating a first thrust into the enemy's jaw. Jhangar became the object of repeated and energetic assaults by the raiders, who could never reconcile

themselves to the position and badly needed that vital road junction between Mirpur and Kotli.

The spring in Kashmir was devoted by both sides to building up for the impending burst of operational activity on that front. While the Indian Army was ambitiously planning a drive from Uri in the direction of Domel and Muzaffarabad, the enemy was busy bolstering up his defences to meet this threat and, at the same time, was pushing north-eastward via Gilgit with the intention of opening another front and knocking at the backdoor of the Srinagar Valley.

Gen. Thimayya who was in command of the Srinagar Division projected an offensive directed towards Muzaffarabad on the western border. Brigadier Sen was to advance from Uri along the Domer road, while Brigadier Harbux Singh was to make a wide sweeping right hook via Handawor to Tithwal—a point hardly 18 miles on the northern flank of Muzaffarabad.

Starting on the night of May 17-18 from Handawor, 40 miles north-north-east of Uri, Brigadier Harbux Singh's column made good progress, and on May 23, entered Tithwal, covering 40 miles in six days through difficult roadless country.

The raiders were taken completely by surprise. Thirty-five prisoners, including Lieutenant-Colonel Sikandar Khan and four other ranks of the Pakistan Army, and one 3-inch mortar were captured at Tithwal. The enemy casualties in this advance were 67 counted dead, our own 17 killed and 31 wounded.

The capture of Tithwal signified a major blow to the raiders, as it was dangerously close to Muzaffarabad, their main base, and it disrupted their main line of communication with their forward bases in the north and north-east.

Supporting the direct attack on Tithwal, another column simultaneously advanced towards Trahgam, 20 miles north-west of Handawor. Notwithstanding tough opposition, they pushed on and then striking towards Tithwal, finally ended up by capturing Nastachan.

Brigadier Sen set out from Uri on May 20, with one battalion north of the Jhelum, two battalions south of the road and one battalion and one armoured column along the road. There were no illusions about the task assigned to Brigadier Sen. Pitted against him was the largest and strongest concentration of the raiders, well equipped and armed with artillery.

There was heavy fighting for features on either side of the road. Some changed hands thrice in one day. Pandu, an important hill feature, 9 1/2 miles north-east of Uri, was captured on May 23. Here a complete enemy ration and ammunition dump fell into our hands. Two prisoners belonging to the Frontier Force Rifles and the Frontier Regiment of the Pakistan Army were also captured. On May 27, the column advanced up to Ursua, overlooking Chakoti, the raiders' entrenched position along the road.

The threat to Muzaffarabad, represented by this drive and its initial successes at Tithwal and around Uri, spread panic and alarm in Pakistan and "Azad Kashmir." If the Indian Army were allowed to reach Domel and Muzaffarabad, all would be lost for the cause of the raiders. Pakistan, which till then had helped the invaders covertly, now came out into the open and flung in more regular Pakistan Army battalions to stem the tide of the Indian Army's drive westward. They also brought up 4.2 inch mortars and medium guns.

Beyond Ursua, the Indian Army met the hard core of enemy resistance in the shape of regular Pakistan battalions. The fighting was fierce and desperate. Our

advance was held up. between May 20 and 27, the enemy losses were, 1, 126 killed, six prisoners captured and a large number wounded. Our own casualties were 51 killed, 80 wounded and four missing-very heavy, compared with the Indian Army's previous record in the Kashmir campaign.

As the advance of the main column came to a halt, a subsidiary column was sent out north of the Jhelum. At the same time, Brigadier Harbux Singh was ordered to strike towards Mazuaffarabad from Tithwal. The former column concentrated at Pandu on May 29 and captured a 6,875 foot high feature. The enemy was dislodged only after three bayonet charges. His casualties were 20 killed and 35 wounded. his losses in equipment were 16 light machine-guns captured. In the meantime, the column from Tithwal cleared the area north of the Kishenganga.

Then weather took a hand. It rained caselessly for two days, converting dry nullahs into raging streams and grounding our aircraft. Both the columns were being maintained by air. The operation had to be postponed. The column from Uri returned to its base.

Yet another manoeuvre was attempted-this time, a left hook. A Gorkha battalion was sent down south along the Uruse nullah, while an other battalion advanced to Ledi Gali. Amidst a hail of grenades and bullets, the gorkhas captured the 10,924 foot high Pir Kanti ridge on June 28, with a Kukri charge. The enemy casualties were 54 counted killed; our own 7 killed and 51 wounded.

On July 10, the U.N. Commission on Kashmir arrived in Indian. The Commission appealed to both sides to refrain from offensive activity while they carried out their investigations. The Government of India immediately responded to the appeal and the Indian

Army in Kashmir and Jammu was directed not to undertake fresh offensive action.

Pakistan, however, paid little heed to the appeal and launched a counter-attack at Pandu and recaptured it and also attacked our positions north of Kishenganga in the tithwal area.

Pakistan, which had till now strenuously denied direct participation in the Kashmir fighting, confessed to the U.N. Commission that since May the Pakistan Army battalions had been fighting in Kashmir and that the Pakistan Army headquarters were in overall command of the operations in Jammu and Kashmir on their side of the line. The reason advanced was that the Indian Army's summer drive constituted a threat to Pakistan interests in Kashmir as well as across the border.

Since the push began on May 17, General Thimayya's troops had cleared a 11-mile stretch of road between Urusa and Uri, and captured Handawor, Kupwara, Keran and Tithwal, and established a forward position within 18 miles of Muzaffarabad and cut the enemy's line of communication to the north. In terms of territory, they had liberated 3,500 square miles.

About this time, in Jammu, the activity was still confined to sparring at the enemy, preliminary to bigger things to come. Offensive patrolling around Jhangar, Naushera and Rajauri was intensified.

Another attempt was made to relieve Poonch, this time from Rajauri. simultaneously a column from Rajauri and a column from Poonch set out on June 15, and met at Potha on June 17

The link-up with Poonch, however, proved temporary, as we lacked the requisite number of troops to maintain it.

All the time Jhangar continued to be the favourite target of the enemy's artillery practice. On the night of July 3-4, the shelling of Jhangar was more intense than usual. Some 600 shells were pumped into our positions in Jhangar that night. One of them took the life of Brigadier Mohammad Usman, the hero of the battle of Naushera and officer who distinguished himself as an outstanding soldier, a fearless leader and popular man who was loved by his jawans and trusted by the local civilian population.

He was the first Brigadier to be killed in Kashmir campaign. At his death there were rejoicings in "Azad Kashmir" territory as well as in Pakistan, as he had become a terror to the enemy. In India he was hailed as a national hero. His body was flown to Delhi, where he was given a State funeral, with full military honours. The Governor-General, the Prime Minister and other Cabinet Ministers attended the funeral.

The raiders' plans for the summer lay in a different direction-the north-easterly direction. losing all hopes of piercing the Indian Army's steel ring in the west at Uri and in the south-west in Jammu, they sought new adventures in the remote, semi-arctic, barren districts of Baltistan and Ladakh.

Between those districts and the Kashmir valley stood the gaunt, forbidding Himalayan ranges, with a few difficult, fair-weather, snow-covered mountain tracks serving as the only link. Their very inaccessibility made those districts safe for the activities of the raiders, putting them beyond easy range of the Indian Army's attentions.

The raiders' projected summer campaign had three objectives aimed at dispersal of our forces-opening two more fronts, one in the north via Gurais and the other in the north-east via Zoji-la, and "bagging" as much territory as possible in Baltistan and Ladakh. Gurais and

Zoji-la are the northern and north-eastern gateways respectively to the Kashmir Valley.

All winter the raiders built up Gilgit, their possession in the northern frontier area, as the base for their summer campaign. Columns of raiders moved down from Gilgit and infiltrated southwards and south-eastwards.

By January, the pressure on the small State Force garrison in Skardu increased. Accompanied by the large number of refugees, the garrison of two companies shut themselves up in the Skardu fort. The raiders encircled the fort and bypassed it on their eastwards movement towards Kargil and Ladakh.

Repeated attempts from Srinagar to send relief to the besieged Skardu garrison were foiled by the difficult nature of the country, particularly in winter.

Though neither reinforcements nor supplies in any appreciable quantity could reach Skardu, the garrison, ordered to fight "to the last man and last round," held on grimly.

In the meantime, bypassing Skardu, the raiders overpowered another small State Force garrison at Kargil and then captured Dras, and thus cleared the way to Ladakh and Leh, its capital, the coveted objective of the eastward drive.

When the raiders infiltrated into the Ladakh district and skirmished with State Forces, the threat to Leh became imminent. The remnants of the State forces dotted all over the Ladakh valley fell back on Leh to strengthen the defence of the town. From Srinagar were sent two officers and 15 other ranks to prepare the defences of the town. A party of Buddhist soldiers of the Indian Army had also been sent to Leh in February.

On May 24, Air Comodore Nehar Singh undertook the most daring operation yet in his colourful career—a flight to Leh along an uncharted route, at 23,000 feet and over the world's highest mountain ranges. He flew without even oxygen. Accompanying him on the flight was Gen. Thimayya. Mehar Singh landed on a rough improvised strip in Leh, constructed by a Ladakhi engineer, 11,554 feet above sea level. Two companies of Gorkhas were flown to Leh by the IAF in May and June.

These measures were taken in the nick of time. On July 11, 1,000 raiders, armed with a 3.7 howitzer, launched an attack on the outposts of Leh. The attack was repulsed. As the pressure on Leh increased, the demand for supplies and reinforcements became insistent and urgent. Once again, the difficulties of terrain and the winter conditions were the major obstacles.

There were two land routes to Leh. The one from Srinagar passed through the snow-covered 11,578-foot high Zoji Pass and through Kargil. Only 40 out of the 230 miles of the route were motorable. The rest of the journey had to be performed on horse or on foot. The route winds its way between and up and down bleak snow-mantled mountains. With Kargil in enemy hands, this route was out of the question. The second route to Leh was from Manali in West Punjab which was equally difficult and circuitous, running over 200 miles through thick jungle and Himalayan ranges.

Speedy help was the need of the moment. IAF transport planes became once again the only resort. Dakotas, fitted up with improvised oxygen apparatus, opened a ferry service between Srinagar and Leh. Landing on a strip, 11,500 feet high, was no picnic. The aircraft kept their engines running while unloading and reloading for if the engines were switched off, they might not restart at that altitude.

The Leh garrison energetically built up its defences with the help of the supplies flown in by IAF. Ladakhi Muslims and Buddhist volunteers were organised and trained into a local militia to fight side by side with the Indian and State forces.

Almost simultaneously with their eastward drive, the raiders moved down south from Gilgit into the Gurais valley, and passing over the Razdhanangan Pass got Tragbal, overlooking Bandipur, in the Wular Lake region, 35 miles north of Srinagar.

Gen. Thimayya, in the meantime, got ready to meet this threat from the north. Soon after the devastating air strike which had driven the enemy out of Tragbal, Army engineers "got cracking" on a jeep track to Tragbal, 10,000 feet above sea level.

The first jeep motored to Tragbal on May 21. Mules and porters carried ammunition and supplies another eight miles to Razdhanangan, where was established the base for our operations. Two infantry battalions and a mountain battery were concentrated for the job. Facing our troops and entrenched in the Gurais valley were five companies of the Frontier Constabulary, 250 Chitral Scouts and 300 Gilgit Scouts, well armed and equipped and led by regular Pakistan Army officers.

Gurais is a valley through which flows the Kishenganga, dominated on either side by a series of ranges of the Himalayas, running parallel to each other and nowhere below 11,000 feet, with most of them snow-covered all the year around. D-Day was June 25. The operation largely consisted of climbing up and wresting from the enemy a series of steep snow-mantled features. The process began with the capture of Menon Hill and Shete Hill and culminated in the conquest of the forbidding 14,218 foot high peak, Kesar. This peak was

assaulted by our troops in a blizzard in the middle of the night.

Wet and shivering, the Indian Army troops kept up the momentum of their advance under a hail of machine-gun and mortar fire and were in Gurais by June 28. Behind the capture of Gurais lies the story of phenomenal endurance and perseverance by the Indian Army troops and their engineers. It was a mountaineers' war fought in arctic conditions. Our troops were poorly clad for that kind of winter. Forty-five mules died in the cold and the mountain gunds had to be man-handled in blizzsard and snow.

The fleeing raiders left behind a trail of their dead. The raiders also lost heavily in equipment and supplies. The most precious booty captured by our troops was the Frontier constabulary blankets. Almost following on the heels of our advancing troops, Indian Army engineers unrolled a jeep track, from Bandipur to Gurais, distance of 42 miles, within four weeks.

In the north-east, the raiders penetrated the Zoji-la and infiltrated into the Sonamarg valley. The Patialas guarding this gateway to Srinagar reacted energetically. They immediately engaged them and chased them beyond the Zoji-la. The Patialas mounted guard at the Zoji Pass by establishing piquets at 16,000-foot high peaks, while a jeep track crept towards them from Sonamarg.

On August 14, the Skardu garrison was at last overwhelmed and surrendered to sheer weight of numbers. The State Force troops resisted till the last, with no hope of either relief or victory.

With the fall of Skardu, as apprehended, the raiders doubled their pressure on Leh. In August another company of Gorkhas was flown into Leh. In the same

month two more companies of Gorkhas plus 800 rifles were also sent to Leh along the 203 mile mountain track via Manali in East Punjab. Yet another column followed them along the same route on September 12, with 400 mules and, 1,000 porters. Thus the defence of Leh were reinforced betimes to meet the danger.

As the precious summer months were fading out, the Indian Army had the satisfaction of securing the safety of the Kashmir Valley against invasion from the north and the north-east.

But two important jobs still remained outstanding. Both the tasks had to be accomplished before winter, if a calamity were to be averted. These were (a) reopening the road from Srinagar to Leh and removing the meance to the Buddhist district of Laakh, and (b) the relief of the Poonch garrison, which had gallantly held out for a year against repeated assaults.

The Zoji Pass, 64 miles north-east of Srinagar, which links the Kashmir Valley with Ladakh, is dominated by high peaks on either side and is about two miles long, debouching into the Gumri basin.

Indian troops effectiv controlled the western approaches to the Zoji-la, but the raiders held three ridges around the pass.

With plenty of time to choose their defensive positions, the raiders had sited their weapons to cover the defile along which our troops would have to advance.

Several attempts at the treduction of the enemy positions having failed it was then decided that movemnt from our side was possible only by night or under cover of fire from tanks. The first alternative was ruled out as the hours of the night would prove insufficient for completion of the operation.

the second alternative workable, if only the tanks could be brought up to that height and all the distance from Jammu. The tanks could sit in the pass with impunity, ignoring the enemy small-arms fire, and blanket his bunkers with shells, while our infantry advanced. But if tanks were to be brought, a road had to be constructed.

The bold decision was taken. In less than two months, the Thangaraju road—named after Major Thangraju who planned the project—from Baltal to Zoji-la, was laid down. At places the road had to be hewn out of sheer rock.

From Jammu to Baltal, seven, Stewart ("Honeys") tanks travelled a distance of 260 miles incognito and under strict secrecy. They were covered with shrouds to conceal their identity. On the way, the tanks negotiated the final Ramban bridge.

From Baltal to Zoji-la, the tanks negotiated their way around slippery hairpin bends and up a gradient of 3,000 feet in four miles.

D-Day was October 20. Rain and snow on October 20, compelled postponement of the operation, and at one time it looked as though it could not be launched until the following spring. November 1 was fixed as the last possible date for launching the operation, because any delay beyond that date would have made stocking across the Zoji-la impossible, as the pass became blocked with snow in December.

Fortunately the weather cleared up in time, and under the natural cover of cloud, the tanks moved out at 10 a.m. on November 1. It was snowing as the tanks mounted the Zoji-la track. From the jeephead, the road constructed by our sappers meandered forward for two miles. Whether any track existed beyond that point nobody knew.

The tanks moved forward, crossed the Zoji-la and gingerly stepped on to the "no man's land" in the Gumri basin. Solely relying for guidance on air reconnaissance reports, the tanks forged ahead through snowdrifts, glaciers, mountain streams and over boulders to reach the foot of Chabutra Hill.

The enemy opened up a barrage of fire, which ricocheted harmlessly off the tank armour. Then the tank guns barked and systematically destroyed about 25 enemy bunkers and seized full control of Gumri by midday. Behind the tanks, the infantry moved in without much opposition.

The enemy was surprised and demoralised by the sight of the tanks in Gumri, which he had never expected. At 9 p.m. on November 1 Patialas under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Sukhdeo Singh, set out from the Gumri Basin. Walking surreptitiously throughout the night, a company of Patialas reached Machoi and covered the enemy from behind.

On finding themselves encircled on all sides, the hostiles were completely demoralised. Those who tried to flee were good targets for our riflemen, others surrendered and saved their lives. On the "North Ridge" our troops found a dismantled 3.7 howitzer. The enemy was obviously trying to carry it in parts while running away to safety.

The Patialas rested at Machoi on November 2 as they were on dry rations for more than 40 hours and the Rajputs under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Girdhari Singh pushed towards Matauan, six miles to the north-east of Machoi. Matauan eventually fell into our hands on November 4 at 3 p.m.

Covering over ten miles of rugged terrain infested with enemy snipers, and wiping out all opposition, the

Indian forces reached the Dras plain at 4.20 p.m. on November 15. Our Force Commander, delegation of two villagers from Dras who welcomed the Indian troops and announced that the hostiles had cleared out of Dras at 2.p.m.

On reaching Dras our troops recovered rifles, Bren-guns, 650 cases of 3-inch and 2-inch mortar bombs, blankets, ground-sheets, warm jackets, medical stores and 3,000 maunds of firewood.

During the entire operation, IAF aircraft give close support to our marching columns and strafed enemy dug-in gun and mortar positions on the mountains slopes on either side of the defile in Zoji-la as troops pushed forward. IAF aircraft also dropped thousands of leaflets on dras and surrounding areas, advising the local population not to abandon their homes.

Counting the mopping up of hostile pockets beyond Dras, Indian troops, on the morning of November 23, established positions at Kargil, the important trade and communication centre situated on the track leading to Skardu in the north, Dras and Srinagar in the west and Leh in the east.

Meanwhile, from the other side, consolidating their positions in the Nubra valley, Indian troops cleared hostiles from Khalatse, 50 miles west of Leh. Khalaste, situated at the track junction from Gilgit and Skardu in the north-west and from Srinagar, Dars and Kargil in the south-west, is the gateway to Leh.

Now only 45 miles of tortuous snow-covered mountain track lay between our troops in Kargil and those in Khalaste. Moving along this track, an Indian Army patrol from Khalatse established contact with our forward troops at Kargil on November 24. The Indian troops then busied themselves with combing out the region for hostiles.

Thus the land-link between Srinagar and Leh was established after nearly six months. In the entire operation, the enemy suffered a total of 318 killed and 206 wounded. One enemy 3.7 howitzer one 4.2-inch mortar, one 3-inch mortar and two 2 inch mortars and 14 rifles were captured. Our casualties were 40 killed, 86 wounded and 37 listed as missing. Casualties from forest-boite were 350.

In Jammu, Gen. Atma Singh launched his elaborately planned offensive for the relief of Poonch. By September, the hostile ring around Poonch had tightened and it threatened to strangle the garrison. The enemy brought up 25-pounders and put airstrip-the only link with the outside world-out of commission. Intelligence and air reconnaissance reports indicated a heavy build-up in Bagh, an enemy base north-west of Poonch, with the obvious intention of extracting the thorn on their side, which was the Poonch garrison.

The first phase in the operation for the relief of Poonch comprised the capture of Thana Mandi, 12 miles north of Rajauri. After two days push, Thana Mandi was secured. its fate was sealed when Kumaonis captured point 7,710. This feature had been strongly held by two enemy companies armed with two 3 inch mortars and four machine-guns.

With Thana Mandi in our possession, hostile pockets in the Riasi district east of the Thana Mandi-Rajauri track, were already in the bag, being cut off and isolated from their bases.

Now preparations for the second phase of the operation were under way. The operation was to be carried out in three phases; the capture of Pir Badesar and Pir Kalewa, the capture of Sangiot and its conversion into a firm base, and the final break-through and link-up with Poonch.

The enemy strength facing them was reported to be two battalions east of Rajauri-Thana Mandi, one brigade west of Rajauri, one brigade in Mendhar, on the way to Poonch, and one brigade south of Poonch.

Pir Badesar, 5,432 feet high, was a stronghold of the hostiles, over-looking the entire Naushera and Seri valleys north-east of Jhangar. The operation was launched under the command of Brigadier Harbhajan Singh on the night of October 14-15. In moonlight, a column of our troops, mostly Gorkhas, marched through difficult, mountainous, Trackless country on to the enemy-held Giran village. A half-asleep sentry challenged our leading section and asked for the password. A burst of bullets was the answer he received. A moment later, there was a fierce exchange of fire. Before long, the last of the enemy fled, leaving behind his dead, dying and wounded.

After a series of skirmishes, which added to the demoralisation of the enemy, our advance column of Kumaonis was fast scaling Pir Badesar, and an our before sunset, they were on top. The enemy's losses in this operation were 102 killed and 9 prisoners and 27 rifles captured.

The Pir Kalewa, a commanding feature astride the Rajauri-Thana Mandi road, was captured by another brigade on the afternoon of October 26. This was comparatively an easier job, the enemy's losses being four killed and many more believed killed and wounded.

After consolidating their successes at Pir Badesar and Pir Kalewa and dispatching more men to defend the Pathankot-Chhamb stretch of the Jammu-Pakistan border, the Indian Army resumed the offensive to the link-up with Poonch.

The next phase of the operation, i.e. the capture of

Sangiot, was altered, as the sappers preferred to build a road to Poonch via Mendhar. The enemy had one strong brigade located in Mendhar, and another brigade at Ramgarh.

On the night of November 7-8, 5 Brigade moved forward to secure the right flank of Mendhar, while 19 Brigade took up the task of securing the left flank. The Rajauri column was detailed to capture Ramgarh fort and features in the vicinity, to protect the left flank of 19 Brigade. Mean-while, the battalion at Pir Bdesar was demonstrating towards Thana Mandi. Bhimber Gali and Ramgarh were to be taken in the first bound and Bhimber Gali was then to be made into a firm base for further advance.

After encountering heavy resistance from hostiles, the columns moved forward. As the sun was dipping behind the hills, Bhimber Gali itself was in our hands. Our positions were consolidated during the night and the next day, November 9, point 6,207 was taken. the capture of Point 6,207 gave us a clear view of an enemy concentration in Turti, about six miles south of Mendhar. One thousand hostiles with animal transport concentrated in the area presented an ideal target for our guns and mortars. The enemy fled in utter confusion, leaving behind at least 60 dead.

The total of enemy casualties in the course of the 18-mile Indian advance from Rajauri to Bhimber Gali was 175 killed, many more wounded and 20 taken prisoner. Large quantities of stores and equipment, including standard and paratroop rifles, 3-inch mortar bombs, small-arms ammunition, signal cable and foodstocks fell into our hands. The enemy also left behind loads of anti-Indian hate-propaganda posters and leaflets.

The Rajauri column encountered heavy opposition at Ramgarh fort, five miles north-west of Rajauri, and the

surrounding heights. The fort area, on top of a steep, pine-clad projection, was defended, by three hostile battalions. The resistance was broken and the fort itself captured by midday on November 9.

Two hundred hostiles were believed to have been killed in the fight for Ramgarh. The booty included 5,00 rounds of small arms ammunition, 38 3-inch mortar bombs, five to six miles of cable, one loudspeaker and chairs and tables and a Pakistan flag.

With Ramgarh in our hands, Indian troops from Chingas and the Pir badesar area linked up with Ramgrah, thus removing the large enemy bulge towards Rajauri.

At Bhimber Gali, the Indian forces resumed their advance along both the flanks.

With the enemy well entrenched and the approach to it most difficult, a frontal attack appeared to be the only alternative, with the inevitable accompanying loss of lives. The enemy was also holding features south of Mendhar in greater strength. The plan was accordingly changed and 19 Brigade was ordered to perform a right hook.

The night of November 19-20 was selected as the D-Day for final link-up operations. 168 BRIGADE FROM Poonch advanced and captured features south of Poonch. 5 Brigade captured point 5,982 and effected the link-up with the Poonch column at 2 P.M. on November 20, 19 Brigade captured Topa ridge. Mendhar itself was secured on November 23 and the features south of Mendhar were also taken. and Brigadier Pritam Singh, the defender of Poonch, and Brig. Yadhunath singh, commanding the leading relief column, shook hands. At Topa ridge the Indians captured one medium machine-gun, two 3-inch morars, 20,000 rounds of small-arms ammunition, 200 mortar bombs, 60 grenades, 200 blankets and 20 mules.

Though the Commander of the Poonch garrison had shaken hands with the Commander of the relief column, a lot of work yet remained to be done to insure the link-up and the safety of Poonch. The hostiles still had the town within range of their shells. To remove this threat, on November 25, an attack was launched on Salotri ridge. The ridge was taken after overcoming stiff resistance. Along with it came more booty-one bren-gun and two V.B. magazines, two spare barrels, two rifles, 2,300 rounds of small arms ammunition, cables, a microphone and a wireless set.

The capture of Salotri ridge exposed the enemy gun positions, and he had to pull them out. After the link-up, the Poonch garrison freed Suran and Mandi valleys astride the tracks to the north to Kashmir.

Having accomplished their appointed tasks in Jammu and Kashmir the Indian Army was now again on the defensive. While every enemy attack on our positions was resolutely repulsed, Indian troops, under strict orders from the Army headquarters, refrained from embarking on any fresh offensive operations. But IAF kept a strict vigil over enemy territory. Enemy concentrations were strafed around Kotli and Bagh with the object of dissolving their build-up for offensive activity in western Jammu.

On December 14-while the cease-fire was still under negotiation between India and Pakistan-the hostiles laid down the biggest artillery bombardment of the campaign on our positions around Naushera. They used 5.5 medium guns, a complete regiment of 25-pounders, 3.7 heavy ack-ack guns and 75 mms from medium tanks. Between 11.15 a. m. and 8 p.m. that day, the hostiles fired 2,500 shells into an area seven miles radius of Naushera. At the farthest point, they picked on targets at Beri Pattan ten miles south-east of Naushera.

Simultaneously, Pakistan's Sherman tanks fired at our positions from an area two miles south-west of Sadabad. They were engaged and dispersed by Indian gunners. IAF aircraft on reconnaissance also encountered heavy ack-ack fire from 40 mm anti-aircraft guns.

The cease-fire came into force a minute before midnight on the first day of the year 1949, which brought to a close a 15 month gruelling campaign for the Indian Army. Launched upon within a month and a half of the country's freedom, under every imaginable handicap and without any planning whatsoever, the Kashmir campaign was a fiery test for free India's Armed Forces. Out of the test they emerged with flying colours.

When on October 26, 1947, the Maharaja signed the instrument of accession and the Governor-General of India accepted it, the defence of Kashmir as an integral part of the country became the concern of the Government of India. And when Indian troops were flown to Srinagar on the morning of October 27, to drive the raiders out of the State, there was a sharp reaction to this move from the side of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah who had moved up from Karachi to Lahore to be nearer the scene of operation and to watch the swift march of raiders on to Srinagar, seems to have felt greatly dejected at their failure to achieve the objective. He, therefore, in a moment of bitter disappointment ordered the acting commander-in-chief of his forces, General Sir Douglas Gracery, to dispatch troops to Kashmir. the General being fully aware of the shortcomings of the troops which were under his command and were still disorganised and badly equipped, was not prepared to obey Mr. Jinnah's instructions without the approval of Marshal Auchinleck, who was the supreme commander in charge of administering the partition of the Indian Army. Auchinleck flew to Lahore at the express request of

General Cracey and succeeded in persuading Mr. Jinnah to cancel the order.

Mr. Jinnah there upon turned to diplomatic negotiations and invited Lord Mountbatten and Prime Minister Nehru to Lahore for a discussion on the situation. Pandit Nehru could not undertake the journey due to ill-health and so Lord Mountbatten went alone to Lahore where on November 1, he had a long session with Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah presented a three point proposal - a cease fire, withdrawal of the force of Indian Dominion and the tribesmen, and a plebiscite under the joint control of the two Governors-General. Lord Mountbatten declined to accept the proposals pointing out his constitutional inability to act without consulting his Cabinet. Lord Mountbatten during the course of discussion, however, asked the common-sense question of how Mr. Jinnah could be responsible for withdrawing the tribesmen if he had no control over them, to which Mr. Jinnah replies, "if you do this, I will call the whole thing off."

It was at this meeting that Lord Mountbatten suggested that a plebiscite be held under the auspices of the United Nations. But Mr. Jinnah promptly rejected the idea.

Pakistan's Aggression on Kashmir

Meanwhile it was becoming increasingly clear to Indian forces engaged in driving out the tribal raiders, that Pakistan was giving all-out support to them in the shape of transport, arms, ammunition and military leadership. In several sectors Pakistan soldiers without uniform were actively fighting the Indians. Heavy artillery and anti-aircraft guns were freely brought into action and the Pakistan bases across the borders were used to build up reserves and supplies for the hostiles. The Indian army had captured prisoners, arms and documents in the

course of their advance, proving that Pakistan was directly concerned in operations against India in Jammu and Kashmir State.

"That Pakistan", reported the London Times, "is unofficially involved in aiding the raiders is certain. Your correspondent has first hand evidence that arms, ammunition and supplies are being made available to the Azad Kashmir forces. A few Pakistani officers are also helping to direct their operations.... And however much the Pakistan Government may disavow intervention, moral and material support is certainly forthcoming."

Then there is the evidence of an American Air force Sergeant, Mr. Haight, who enlisted as a volunteer with the raiders and actively fought against Indian forces, with the rank of Brigadier-General. After some months while on his way to America he revealed to the correspondent of the New York Times, that "gasoline-scarce and strictly rationed commodity-was supplied plentifully to the raiders by the Pakistan authorities..... Mr. Haight also found Pakistan Army personnel running the Azad Kashmir radio station, relaying message through their own Pakistan Army receivers, organising and managing Azad encampments in Pakistan, and supplying uniforms, food, arms and ammunition which, he understood, came from Pakistan Army stores through such subterfuges as the 'loss' of ammunition shipments."

"Five years later in the summer of 1952, the Khan of Mamdot claimed from the Pakistan Government of India had only two alternatives if they were to expel the invaders from Kashmir soil which after the accession was Indian territory. They had either to carry the war into the enemy's camp, namely Pakistan territory which was furnishing the raiders with not only men and material, but also with bases of operation, or they had to dissuade Pakistan from giving this aid to them.

In his several telegrams. Pandit Nehru appealed to the Prime Minister of Pakistan to deny assistance to the invaders. But all these efforts failed.

Anxious for a peaceful settlement, India offered various proposals, none of which was accepted by Pakistan. Any action by India to attack the bases of the invaders in Pakistan would have meant direct conflict with Pakistan. The Prime Minister of India, in a letter dated the 22nd of December, 1947, informed the Prime Minister of Pakistan that if Pakistan did not deny to the invaders assistance and the use of Pakistan territory for operations against the State, India would be compelled to take such action, consistent with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, as it might consider necessary to protect its interests. There was no response from the Pakistan Prime Minister. On January 1, 1948, India submitted a formal complaint to the Security Council under Chapter VI of the Charter, as India was anxious to avoid a direct conflict with Pakistan Prime Minister. On January 1, 1948, India submitted a formal complaint to the Security Council under Chapter VI of the Charter, as India was anxious to avoid a direct conflict with Pakistan.

All proposals and offers for resolving the situation which India had made in her direct approaches to Pakistan, naturally lapsed when India took the matter to the Security Council.

The Government of India, in its complaint to the Security Council stated :

"In order that the objective of expelling the invader from Indian territory and preventing him from launching fresh attacks should be quickly achieved, Indian troops would have to enter Pakistan territory : only thus could the invaders be denied the use of bases and cut off from their sources of supplies, and

against India. On the contrary and solely with the object of maintaining friendly relations between the two dominions the Pakistan Government have continued to do all in their powers to discourage the tribal movement by all means short of war."

He, however, brought forth counter-charges against India, particularly its attitude towards Pakistan. Junagarh and Muslims in general. he pleaded that the Kashmir situation should be viewed in this broader perspective as it was a part of the deliberately hostile policy adopted by India towards Pakistan since partition.

In its resolution dated January 17, 1948, which was accepted by Pakistan and India, the Security Council called upon Pakistan and India :

- (i) "to take immediately all measures within their power (including public appeals to their people) calculated to improve the situation and to refrain from making any statements and from doing or causing to be done or permitting any acts which might aggravate the situation; and
- (ii) to inform the Security Council immediately of any material change in the situation which occurs or appears to either of them to be about to occur while the matter is under consideration by the Council, and consult with the Council thereon."

Between January 22 and February 4, the Security Council held eight meetings on this matter. A number of draft resolutions were put forward by the members which were greatly weighed in favour of Pakistan. The Council continued to give patient hearing to Pakistan. The Council continued to give patient hearing to Pakistan's numerous complaints. The real issue was being obscured. as the Prime Minister of India put it, "the nations of the world sitting on that body got lost in power politics."

Meanwhile fighting continued in Kashmir. On India representative's return from new where he had gone for consultation with the Government of India, the Security Council on March 10, resumed its consideration of the Kashmir situation. After several meetings a joint draft resolution was produced by the Security Council on April 17, which declared that the situation in Jammu and Kashmir was likely to endanger international peace and security, and therefore the Council recommended the setting up of a Commission of five members "to proceed at once to the Indian sub-continent and there place their good offices and mediation at the disposal of the Governments of India and Pakistan."

India, However, rejected the draft resolution as in the words of the Indian representative, Mr. Ayyangar, "it tars us with the same brush and makes us look like the co-accused." Pakistan also objected to the resolution, and considered that the measures recommended were not adequate to ensure a free and impartial plebiscite. But in spite of objections from India and Pakistan, the resolution was adopted by the Security Council on April 21.

By May 7, the membership of the United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP) was completed. The Government of India informed the Security Council that it would not be possible to implement those parts of the resolution against which it had already objected. "If, however, the Commission was sent, the Government of India would be glad to confer with it."

"When at last the Commission was dispatched to India and Pakistan, it found the situation politically and militarily quite different from what the Security Council had thought it to be when it passed its mild and necessarily non-committal resolution in April."

For, when the Commission landed in Karachi on

July 5, 1948, they got "the first bombshell. Sir Zafrulla Khan informed the Commission that three Pakistani brigades had been on Kashmir territory since May. he explained the measure as an act of self-defense."

Earlier the same Pakistan Foreign Minister had solemnly declared before the Security Council that Pakistan had no part in the invasion of Jammu and Kashmir and had even denied the giving of assistance to the irregulars. Persistent denials by Pakistan might have temporarily misled the unsuspecting and the unwary; but once the U. N. Commission arrived on the sub-continent of India, the facts could no longer be concealed.

Later in their resolution of August 13, the Commission at last recognised the falsity of Pakistan's denials in the following words:

"As the presence of troops of Pakistan in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir constitutes a material change in the situation since it was represented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council, the Government of Pakistan agrees to withdraw its troops from that State."

Two years later on September 5, 1950, Sir Owen Dixon, who succeeded the Commission as U.N. Representative for India and Pakistan, reached a similar conclusion :

".....When the frontier of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was crossedby the hostile elements, it was contrary to international law and when in May, 1948, units of the regular Pakistan forces moved into the territory of the State, that too was inconsistent with international law."

The Cease-Fire

The fighting in Kashmir had become more extensive and more serious. The Commission, therefore, addressed itself

to bringing about a cease-fire, and in pursuance of this objective had several meetings with the Governments of India and Pakistan. Finally after careful consideration they adopted a resolution on the 13th August, 1948. The government of India accepted this resolution by a letter dated the 20th August, 1948, while Pakistan declined to accept it. They were banking upon the success of their arms in Kashmir, having launched an all-out offensive to defeat the Indian forces and capture the State. Pakistan was thus directly responsible for postponing the cease-fire and for prolongation of hostilities.

By the fall of 1948, Pakistan High Command was convinced that it could not attain its objective by force, and thereupon they gave greater heed to the negotiations and the UNCIP formulated a further resolution of Jan. 5, 1949, to supplement the earlier resolution of August 13, 1948. The draft of this further resolution was accepted by the Government of India on 23rd December and by Pakistan on 25th December, 1948. India, however, accepted the resolutions, subject to the assurances contained in the correspondence between India and the Commission. As the terms of the resolution were accepted by both the Governments before it was actually passed by the Commission, a cease-fire was ordered from 1st January, 1949.

The Basic Resolution of August 13, 1948

The assurances given to the Prime Minister of India by the Commission were public and known to Pakistan. These assurances the basis of which alone India accepted the two Resolutions, and which form part of the reports of the Commission and are official records of the Security Council, included the following:

- (i) Responsibility for the security of the State of Jammu and Kashmir rests with the Government of India.

- (ii) The sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir Government over the entire territory of the State shall not be brought into question.
- (iii) There shall be no recognition of the so-called Azad (Free) Kashmir Government.
- (iv) The territory occupied by Pakistan shall not be consolidated to the disadvantage of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.
- (v) The administration of the evacuated areas in the north shall revert to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and its defence to the Government of India who will, if necessary, maintain garrisons for preventing the incursion of tribesmen, and for guarding the main trade routes.
- (vi) Pakistan shall be excluded from all affairs of Jammu and Kashmir in particular in the plebiscite, if one should be held.
- (vii) If a plebiscite is found to be impossible for technical or practical reasons, the Commission will consider other methods of determining fair and equitable conditions for ensuring a free expression of the people's will.
- (viii) Plebiscite proposals shall not be binding upon India if Pakistan does not implement Parts I and II of the resolution of 13th August, 1948.

The legality of the State's accession to India was never questioned by the Security Council or the Commission. In fact, on February 4th 1948, the U.S. Representative in the Security Council said:

"The external sovereignty of Kashmir is no longer under the control of the Maharaja.....with the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India, this foreign sovereignty went over to India and is

exercised by India, and that is how India happens to be here as a petitioner."

The Legal Adviser to the U.N. Commission came to the conclusion that accession was legal and could not be questioned. The Commission recognised this position in its report and in its two resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, as also the consequential position that Pakistan had no *locus standi* in the State except that of an aggressor.

The basic resolution of August 13, 1948, is in three parts. part I requires a cease-fire, non-augmentation of military potential on either side and the maintenance of a peaceful atmosphere. Under part II Pakistan had to withdraw all her forces, regular and irregular, while India was required to keep sufficient troops for the security of the State including the observance of law and order. part III provided as follows:

"The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan reaffirm their wish that the future status of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people and to that end, upon acceptance of the Truce Agreement both Governments agree to enter into consultation with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions whereby such free expression of will be assured."

Obviously Part III of the resolution could come into focus only after parts I and II had been fully implemented. the resolution of January 5, 1949, being subsidiary and supplementary to the resolution of August 13, 1948, was merely an elaboration of the principle contained in part III and had no practical significance till the resolution of August 13, 1948, was fully implemented. The word 'plebiscite' does not occur in Part III of the resolution of August 13. As recorded to do so even today; Pakistan

also refused to implement Part II going back on the obligation of vacating the aggression. In further implementation of the resolution of 13th August, 1948 and its supplementary of 5th January, 1949, Admiral Nimitz of United States of America was nominated as Plebiscite Administrator in March, 1949, and United Nation Military Observers were sent out to assist in establishing the cease-fire line and to investigate reports of its violation. By July, 1949, the cease-fire line had been demarcated.

Government

The establishment of the rule of Muslim kings, called the Sultans, in Kashmir neither affected its Independence nor at first brought about any material change in the political, social and cultural life of its people. Shah Mir and his immediate successors were content to carry on with the old institutions and organisation. But from the time of Sultan Qutob-ud-Din onwards, when a large number of Sayyids and Sufis started pouring into Kashmir from Persia and Central Asia, the conditions began to undergo a change under their influence. Sikandar's region indeed stands out for the introduction of many new offices and institutions in the field of administration particularly. It was, however, in the time of Zain-ul-Abidin that final touches were applied to the country's changing administrative set-up which then came to be broadly based on the system prevalent in the other Muslim countries.

Administrative division

The territories directly governed by the Sultans included the Kashmir Valley and Lohara. As used the Hindu kings, so now also, the Valley was divided in two main provinces. Maraj and Kamraj. While Avantipur was the headquarters of the former, Sopur was that of the latter.

Each province was further sub-divided into small districts; called Parganas. But the number of Parganas varied from time to time; it was twenty-seven under

Muhammad Shah, thirty under Mizra Haidar Daughlat, and forty-one under the Chak Sultans.

The village continued to be the lowest unit of administration. Lohara was originally added to Kashmir under the Lohara dynasty. At the time of the foundation of Sultanate, however, it became independent of Kashmir. Shihab-ud-Din was the first Sultan who subjugated it, but his hold upon it proved temporary. Qutb-ud-Din tried to reconquer it, but failed. The credit for its permanent conquest goes to Zain-ul-Abidin. He abolished its old Hindu dynasty and, from his time onwards, it began to be governed from Srinagar through a governor.

The provincial administration was organised on the models of the centre. Its head was the Hakim who was required to maintain law and order and collect revenue. The judiciary was under a Qazi. The Kotwal and the Muhtasib were incharge of the safety and morals of the people.

Central administration

Like a Hindu king, the Sultan also was the head of the administration, both civil and military. It was he who made all the appointments and framed laws of the land. He could award any punishment, including the death penalty, and his was the highest court of appeal.

He was distinguished from his subjects by a number of other privileges and prerogatives. He thus sat on the throne, wore, crown, used Chatr (umbrella) and Chauri (flywhiskers), adopted exalted titles, struck coins, recited Khutba in his name, and bestowed robes of honour on nobles and others.

To assist him in the performance of his regal duties, the Sultan had a council of ministers. Holding their office at his pleasure, these officials were consulted by the

sultan on all important occasions. They were also put in charge of certain departments to conduct the day-to-day administration of the country. But unlike the Hindu kings, the Sultans generally assigned them jagirs in lieu of their services.

The ministers were, however, mere secretaries in the theory and their job was only to carry out the Sultan's policy and orders. But as they were chosen from among the leading and powerful landowning families, in practice they exercised a check, on the autocratic powers of the Sultan. The extent of this check, however, depended upon the personality of the Sultan; it was considerable if he were weak, and nominal if he were strong'. During the weak rule of Zani-ul-Abidin's successors, it were the ministers who had to whip hand; they made and unmade rulers at will, declared war or made peace, and even parcelled out country among themselves. In their policy and attitude, therefore, they were not much different from their counter parts under the later Hindu kings.

The chief minister was known by the name of Sarvadhikara under the early Sultans and Wazir from the time of Zain-ul-Abidin. He was the highest civil official in the State and a constant adviser to the Sultan, and as such chiefly responsible for the implementation of his policy. The welfare of the people and stability of the State therefore, depended largely upon his ability and wisdom.

Sometimes, the Wazir was also called upon to discharge the duties of the commander-in-chief. Thus Suhabhata or Malik Saif-ud-Din, the Wazir of Sultan Sikandar, was not only the head of the civil administration but also the commander-in-chief. Under the later Shah Mir Sultans, the functions of the Wazir and the commander-in-chief came to be invariably combined into one person. This development, however, took the

shine out of the Sultans and their position was reduced to that of a figure-head. On the other hand, the wazir became the de facto ruler; he assumed the functions of the highest court of appeal, conferred jagirs upon the nobles, made appointments in the State service, dismissed the officers, and declared wars or made peace. Wazir Ghazi Chak even deposed Sultan Habib Shah and himself ascended the throne.

Until the time of Fath Shah, the finances also of the State were handled by the Wazir. But Fath Shah called into being a separate post of the finance minister and designated him Diwan-i-Kul. The latter was made responsible for the collection of land revenue and other taxes. He supervised the State expenditure also. The history of Diwan-i-Kul under the Chaks is, however, obscure.

The head of the ecclesiastical department was called Shaikh-ul-Islam. This office carried great prestige with it because the person holding it formed many important functions; he was the supreme judge, looked after the working of religious institutions, enforced the Shariat, performed the coronation ceremony of a new Sultan, and served as his constant adviser on legal as well as religious matters. Sometimes, he also issued decrees on political matters, e.g. the claim of a person to the throne. In 1532. When Mirza Haidar Dughlat invaded Kashmir, the Shaikh-ul-Islam enjoined upon the people to fight and kill the invaders, and his decree had a miraculous effect upon the spirits of the masses. Under the Chaks, the duties of Shaikh-ul-Islam were merged with those of Quzi-ul-Quzat.

The scholars, however, hold different opinions about the time when the office of Shaikh-ul-Islam was first instituted in Kashmir. Muin-ud-Din Miskin, the author of *Tarikh-i-Kabir* says that a person named Mulla Ahmad

Allama, who came to Kashmir from, Turkistan along with Bulbul Shah, was the first man to hold this office under Shams-ud-Din I. but in the absence of any reliable corroborative testimony, one scholar does not agree with his opinion. He thinks that this institution was introduced in Kashmir in the time of Sikandar. But another scholar is in perfect accord with Muni-un-Sin miskin and says that the office of Shaikh-ul-Islam did exist in the time of Shams-ud-Din I. He writes: "If there be any doubt about the date of the establishment of the office of Shaikh-ul-Islam, the fact the office did exist about this time is proved by several references to it in a number of histories of Kashmir. Most probably the office was imported from Central Ais." He further says; "It this testimony is to be given credence, Kashmir was ahead of Turkey in this respect by about a hundred years."

The military department was headed by Mir Bakhshi. He maintained soldier's register, made arrangements for their recruitment and distributed their salaries. His office was probably first established by Ali Shah.

Amir-i-Dar or Lord Chamberlain, whom Jonaraja calls Dyarapala, was one of the few officers who were in almost constant attendance upon the Sultan and enjoyed his full confidence. No one could enter the royal presence or make a representation to the Sultan without his permission. He was also the Master of Ceremonies and, therefore, made arrangements for every important function at the court.

The royal treasury was placed under the charge of Khazanchi or Khazanadar. During the early period of the Sultanate he was called Ganjavara, the name given to him by the Hindu rulers of Kashmir. He had absolutely nothing to do with the politics of the country, But there was one Khazanchi during the Sultanate period who was

on the band-wagon and who materially influenced the history of the country. He was Hasan, the official of Zani-ul-Abidin. It was chiefly owing to his support that Haji-Khan obtained the throne after the latter's death.

To guard the frontier passes against the foreign invaders as well as smugglers was the duty of Nayaks. As before, they were provided with a force and stationed at fortified outposts. The collection of customs duties on the goods exported from and imported into Kashmir was also entrusted to them. As all of their functions were of great importance, the Nayaks were made directly responsible to the central government, and the Sultans took personal interest in their recruitment.

Kotwal was a city police officer. Assisted by a force, he maintained law and order and protected the people from thieves and robbers. So wide were his powers that he could even put the thieves to death.

Muhtasib was another city officer who supervised the markets and inspected weights and measures. But his primary duty was to look after the morals of the people. He thus saw that the public prayers were properly conducted, intoxicants were neither manufactured nor publicly sold, the drunkards created no public nuisance, and gambling and immoral living were not carried on. But he could himself hold a summary trial only for ordinary misconduct and award light punishments. The cases of serious nature had to be referred to the Qazi. In practice, therefore, a Muhtasib was nothing more than an executive officer. But in the time of intolerant rulers, like Sikander and Mirza Haidar Dughlat, he enjoyed wider powers and, therefore, higher position and prestige.

Justice

The highest judicial authority in the country was vested in the Qazi. His office was created by Sikandar and the

first incumbent was Sayyid Hasan Shirazi who was posted at Srinagar. Under the Chaks, when the Qazi was made head of the ecclesiastical department also, his powers and prestige received a further fillip. He then came to act as the chief judge, lead the prayers, look after charitable and educational endowments, and advise the Sultan on legal and religious matters.

To assist the Qazi, there was a Mufti. The latter gave rulings on cases according to the Hanafite law. In the time of Husain Shah Shafite law also was applied.

There was yet another subordinate judicial officer known by the name of Mir Adl. Usually, it was he to whom the contending parties first approached for decision. If the case was not a complicated one, he himself settled it, otherwise he referred it to the Qazi.

The Wazir also administered justice. But the highest court in the country was that of the Sultan. He could also act as a court of first instance.

The civil cases were decided in accordance with either the Shariat, i.e. the Islamic law, or the personal law of the contending parties. The punishments in criminal cases did not, however, always conform to the Shariat. Zain-ul-Abidin, for instance, was against the penalty of capital punishment or mutilation of limbs for theft and robbery.

In order to keep themselves abreast of all that happened in the country, the Sultans maintained a regular establishment of secret spies. Some of the queens and princes also did likewise. Thus Sbihab-ub-Din's queen, Lakshmi, kept a watch over the activities of her rival, Lasa, through her spies. In the time of Zain-ul-Abidin, the spy system became so efficient that, it is said, the Sultan "knew all about his subjects except their dreams".

As cavalry formed the principal part of the Kashmir army, the headship of the department of Royal Stable was much sought after. The fact that in case of a disputed succession every claimant tried to capture and control this department speaks volumes of its importance. The Hindu rulers of Kashmir had given this department the name of Mahasavasala. What was it called by the Sultans is not known.

The last major office central government was that of records. It has two establishments, one at Srinagar and the other at Sopur. All the documents of sale and purchase of property, agreements, contracts, and judicial and revenue records were preserved at either of these places. Before the time of Zain-ul-Abidin, a document was drawn on Bhoj Patr or the birch bark. But he introduced paper manufacturing and the documents must have then begun to be written on it also. It is said that he caused all the earlier records to be destroyed.

There were some other minor but important offices also. The guardianship of the sultan's sons, for example, was a prestigious post and its holder was a member of the Sultan's Council. By the nature of their jobs, the Court Physician and the Court Astrologer also were very near the Sultan. The departments of music and translation were maintained by most of the Sultans, and a Secretary or Dabir headed each of them.

The State derived its income mainly from the land revenue and the methods of assessment included sharing, appraisement and measurement.

Shah Mir fixed the revenue demand so low as one-sixth of the gross produce of land. This was probably done partly to reconcile the people to his rule and partly to rehabilitate the country's economy which had been shattered by the mismanagement of affairs under the later Hindu rulers as well as by foreign invasions. But

Shah Mir's successors raised the demand to one-third and this was the normal rate of assessment which prevailed during the Sultanate period. Whenever the country suffered on account of a famine or flood, the State demand was considerably reduced. Zani-ul-Abidin lowered it to one-fourth when a famine occurred in his time. From the newly reclaimed pargana or Zainagir, he charged only one-seventh of the gross produce.

After studying Mirza Haidar Dughlat's *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, we get a fair idea of the system of revenue assessment. He says the land was classified into four categories, viz., *Abi*, *Lalmi*, *Baghi* and meadow lands. The first was the land cultivated by irrigation and depended upon rainfall and it was comparatively lightly taxed. The *Baghi* lands or the orchards enjoyed exemption from tax under the Shah Mirs. The early Chak rulers, however imposed a tax on this class of land also. But Yusuf Shah did away with it. The meadow lands, being swampy and unfit for cultivation, were not taxed at any time during the Sultanate period. This system was definitely an improvement over that of the Hindu kings.

The assessment was made on the basis of the annual produce of rice of a whole village, and the villagers could not remove their produce from the threshing floor until the government had taken away its share. The grain thus collected was first stored up in the government granaries at various places, and later on sold to the non-agricultural population at fixed rates as in the earlier times.

In the system of land tenure also no change appears to have taken place, and the institution of private property also continued. *Jazia* was another important source of revenue. But it was originally imposed by Sikandar and collected at the rate of two pals (or eight tolas) of silver per year. Zain-ul-Abidin first reduced it to

one masha, but subsequently abolished it altogether. It was, however, reimposed by Fath Shah and continued to be collected since then except in the time of Yusuf Shah.

Customs duties imposed on imports and exports and known as Rah-dari-were collected at borders by the Nayaks or the guardians of passes.

There were then some miscellaneous taxes such as baj, tamgha, ferry-toll, bridge-toll, cess on arts and crafts (rasum-i-hirfa garan), on boat-men and the produce of lakes (rasum-i-imirbahri), tax on firewood (wan-waziri), cattle (gaw-shumari) and trees (Sar-darkhti). Begar or unpaid forced labour was exacted from all male adults, particularly the villagers and boatmen. The Hindus were required to pay cremation tax, in addition to Jazia. The muslims paid Zakat or the Poor Tax according to the value of their movable and immovable property. A majority of the Sultans, however, made the payment of this tax voluntary. But some of them, e.g., Sikandar and Yusuf Shah, exacted it with strictness.

Thus we see that on the whole the incidence of taxation on the common man continued to be as heavy as under the Hindu kings.

Shah Mir did not approve of the jagirdari system and, therefore, rarely granted jagirs to his nobles. But his successors were very liberal in this respect, and granted jagirs which were hereditary and managed by their holders. No doubt this system saved the government of a lot of botheration involved in the payment of salaries to its officials and also brought some income in the form of offerings from the assignees, but it also tended to make the jagirdars very powerful and emboldened them to become rebellious.

The State also received tributes, generally in kind, from some neighbouring territories, such as Ladakh,

Baltistan and Kishtwar. But as the exaction of tribute depended upon the ability of the central government to enforce its demand, income from this source was uncertain.

The monetary system of Kashmir under the Sultan remained more or less the same as it existed in the time of the later Hindu rulers. The only change introduced by some sultans was in the type and weight of their individual coins.

The Sultans generally issues coins of copper, called Kasera or Puntsu. In the time of Zain-ul-Abidin, lead and bras were also used for this purpose. But cowree remained the unit of the momentary system, and fractional payments and small purchases were made in it.

While the Shah Mirs used gold and silver sparingly in the minting of their currency, the Chaks were liberal, with the result that coins of these precious metals were more in circulation during the rule of the latter than of the former.

Some other types of coins were also in circulation. thus, the copper coins of Toramana were in use until Hasan Shah's time. But soon after these went out of circulation and he issued a new coin of lead called dividinari. Ashrafis and tanks were used by Muhammad Shah's queen for the building of a Khanqah for Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi. Sometimes, rice and bullion too were used as a medium of exchange. Wages and salaries were often paid in rice. While Sikandar and Zain-ul-Abidin collected jazia in silver, the Chaks exacted it in pannas.

But the coins of the Sultans had very little artistic value. "Kashmiris were the worst die-sinkers of the world", and "the coins (of the Sultans) vary very little, and there is a certain monotony about them." The dates

as given on their coins are also confusing as in many cases the coins of different Sultans bear the same dates. But in the opinion of some scholars, some of these coins must have been spurious, otherwise the Sultans "could not have been so foolish as to give the same dates on the coins of different rulers." However, they admit of one possibility under which these coins could have been genuine. It is "not improbable that rival factions, who set up been genuine. It is "not improbable that rival factions, who set up rival Sultans on the throne, struck coins or even gave currency to their respective coinage." It is also believed that some of the Sultans struck coins in honour of their predecessors, but, while doing so, they paid no attention to the chronology. Thus, for instance, the coins issued separately by Muhammad Shah and Fath Shah with the same date of 1470 "must have been coined in honour of Haidar Shah who reigned from 1470 to 1472."

The other notable features of the coins of the Sultanate period were as under:

1. Some coins bear the dates both in words and figures, while others have them only in words.
2. In some cases, the dates are mentioned in Arabic, while in others the language used is Persian.
3. The silver coins are square-shaped. Their weight varies from 91 to 96 grains and breadth from 6 to 65. The heaviest coin is that of Yusuf Shah and the lightest is that of Shams-ud-Din II. On the obverse, these have the inscription Zarb-i-Kashmir enclosed within a lozenge-shaped order of wavy lines. The date is given in the segments outside the lozenge. The reverse bears the Sultan's name and title. all the Shah Mir Sultans used both the titles of Sulatn-ul-Azam and Shah, with the exception of Zain-ul-Abidin who used only the first title. The Chaks, on the other hand, called themselves Padshah and

Ghazi. In addition to these common titles, each one of the Sultans used a separate title also.

During the nominal rule of Nazuk Shah, Nirza Haidar Dughlat struck coins in the name of Humayun, the Mughal emperor of India. One of the coins bears the letter H which can stand for the name of Nadir Shah with the year 1550. As so Sultan of this name ever ruled over Kashmir, it is presumed that Nadir Shah must have been the title or second name of Sultan Nazuk Shah II. a few other coins of NAdir Shah have also been found, but these are not legible. Coins bearing Islam Shah's name too have come to light. As he never ruled over Kashmir, it is believed that the kashmiri nobles, who were opposed to Mirza Haidar Dughlat, must have struck these coins as a compliment to the Indian ruler in order to enlist his support against their opponents.

4. Though the currency of Kashmir consisted mainly of copper coins, these are not available in a legible form. Having round shape and an average diameter of '8', their weight varies from 17 to 100 grams. The observe contains a bar, i.e. a line across the middle of the coin, with a central knot of arabesque design. In some cases, the knot is elaborate, while in the other it is in the shape of a carelessly formed circle. The Sultan's name is give below the bar and above it appear the words Sultan-ul-Azam. Sain-ul-Abidin is the only Sultan who used the title of Naib-i-Amirul-Muminin. All other Sultan who used the title of Shah. The reverse contains the lozenge Zarbi-Kashmir with date. Some of Zain-ul-Abidin's coins bear the word Zarb crossed by the word Kashmir. Around these words is a quarter foil lozenge with elaborate knots in the outer corners. A few of his coins have on the obverse his name and title in double circle surrounded by another circle of dots.

5. Gold coins, which were rarely issued, weigh on an

average 175 grams. Its obverse has the Kalima in a circle and name of the mint. The name appears in Arabic, and is represented by the epithet Darus-Sultant i.e., seat of the Sultanate, and motto "May it be preserved from destruction." The reverse bears the Sultan's name and titles. The legends on the reverse of the gold coins, however, vary greatly. Sain-ul-Abidin is described as Naib-i-Amirul-Muminin, Qutob-ud-Din as Abul-Mujahidul-Aditus- Sultan, Haidar Shah as Naib-i-Khalifature-Rahmanus-Ssultan, and Hasan Shah as Nagin-i-Mulk Khatim-i Sulaiman.

6. Srinagar, or Kashmir as it was called, was the chief mint town during the Sultanate period, and the present Sarafa Mohalla in th Zaina Kadal is said to have been the locality of the old mint in the city. While some of the coins mention Khitta as the title of the mint town, others describe it as Shahr.

Military organization

The Sultans of Kashmir possessed a strong and powerful army. Its officers were mostly drawn from among the families of the Magres, the Chaks, the Rainas and the Sayyids. Ordinary soldiers continued to be generally recruited from the territories of Poonch, Rajouri, Budhil, Baramulla and Muzaffarabad.

Infantry and cavalry formed the main division of the army, as under the Hindu kings, and the latter continued to hold the pride of place on account of the mountainous nature of the country. As, however, kashmir did not breed horses of good quality, the cavalry-men rode on ponies. For the officers, horses were imported. Elephants and camels also were employed, but their number was small.

The principal class of the army was the standing army which was under the direct control of the central

government. It was stationed at the capital and, being the sultan's sheet-anchor, both in war and peace, was recruited by him personally.

There were three other classes of the army, viz., provincial troops, feudal levies and volunteers.

The provincial troops were posted at important towns and other strategic places in each province as well as on the frontiers. Some of them were stationed also at the forest in the Valley. In order to be able to meet any emergency, all of them were ever kept in a state of readiness.

The feudal levies were maintained by chief nobles for the help of the Sultan. But the loyalty of these troops to the sultan depended upon the loyalty of the nobles in charge of these; and the nobles, on their part, mostly proved undependable. In the time of a national emergency, however, all the classes of the army generally presented a united front under the leadership of their ruler. Volunteers were also called out on such occasions.

The strategy of warfare was developed further since the time of later Hindu Kings.

At the time of fighting, the army seems to have now been deployed into five sections, viz, left, right, centre, vanguard and rearguard. Veterans and the soldiers noted for their courage, valour and strength generally found their places in the vanguard, while the weaker combatants were stationed in the rearguard. Elephants were also lined in the front. They were followed by the cavalry.

Attack was led by the commander himself. Unlike under the Hindu kings, if he died, his place was immediately taken up by the second in command. Sometimes, when there was a challenge from one side to the other, there were single combats, followed by a

general melee.

Before the actual fighting commenced, the Sultan or the commander, it seems, addressed words of encouragement to this forces. Kettle drums were also beaten to arouse their spirits. But even now the soldiers do not appear to have been allotted any special dress. However, to distinguish them from the enemy, they were made to put on some distinctive mark. They also carried banners of blood red colour.

Through several forts were built a strategic places and properly garrisoned with forces, these played little direct part in the warfare, as in the earlier times. The wars were generally fought either in the narrow mountain defiles and passes or on the plane. The forts were used only as stations from where the garrisons issued forth to attack the enemy, and not to check the advance of an invader. As a result the enemy never stopped to besiege them. Srinagar had still no fort and a battle for its capture was fought either in its neighbourhood or in the city itself. To prevent its fall into hands of the enemy, it was, however, a usual practice to destroy the city bridges over the Jehlum. But an enterprising commander still succeeded in forcing his way across the river.

The Kashmir came to excell in making surprise attacks on the enemy and this became the most common method of warfare with them. Such attacks were usually launched before dawn, and employed particularly when they were outnumbered by the enemy and a pitched battle was disadvantageous to them.

Another mode of warfare which now become popular with the Kashmiris was the guerilla type. Entrenched on high and difficult mountains, they swooped down upon the enemy and caused it a great loss.

The weapons commonly used by them included sword, bow and arrow, spear, battle-axe and mace. The warriors put on armour-breast-plates, shields, helmets, iron chests, and protections for thighs, fore-arms, neck and other parts of the body.

Srivara makes a mention of yet another weapon which was developed in the time of Zain-ul-Abidin. According to him, it "destroys forts, pierces the hearts of men, strikes horses with terror, throws balls of stones from a distance and remains unseen by the soldiers from encampments". At another place he writes: the Sultan's army was "furnished with the weapons like lightning, showering forth arrows with deep and prolonged roar". This description has led some scholars to believe that the weapon was a cannon worked with gunpowder. But other doubt the use of gunpowder at this period in the history of Kashmir.

One scholar finds "no reliable evidence to show that gunpowder was known in the time of Zain-ul-Abidin. what really must have been employed," says he "is the Greek Fire or naphtha which also produced, like the gunpowder, considerable sound, and the weapon invented was not a cannon but some kind of mechanical device by which fire-missiles or stones could be discharged." The scholar continues: "It was in the time of the later Shah Mirs or the Chaks that gunpowder came to be known in Kashmir, but even then its use was on a restricted scale. It appears that Ghazi Shah was the first Sultan to possess a cannon which he employed against Qara Bahadur."

But while speaking about the destruction of the temples of Martand and Avantipur in the time of Sikandar, Capt. Cunningham says that their complete ruin could have been brought about only with the help of gunpowder. Dr. M.A. Stein is, however, at variance with

Cunningham's opinion and remarks: "This early use of gunpowder in Kashmir has been doubted by others, and I believe rightly. Earthquakes and the imperfect fitting of the stones, observable in all Kashmiri temples, are sufficient to explain the complete ruin, notwithstanding the massive character of the materials."

Rejecting Stein's thesis, W.R. Lawrence states: "In my opinion their overthrow is too complete to have been the result of an earthquake which would have simply prostrated the buildings in large masses. but the whole of the superstructure of these temples is now lying one confused heap of stones totally disjoined from one another. I believe, therefore, that I am fully justified in saying, from my own experience, that such a complete and disruptive overturn could only have been produced by gunpowder." And accounting for the existence of gunpowder in the time of Sikandar, Lawrence says: "He (Sikandar) was reigning at the period of Timur's invasion of India, with whom he exchanged friendly presents and from whom I suppose he may have received a present of the villanous saltpetre. This is not at all unlikely, for the furious Tamerlane was a great an idol-breaker as Sikandar himself."

Social and Economic Conditions in Ancient Kashmir

It is indeed unfortunate that very little information is available on the social and economic conditions in ancient Kashmir. Early works like Nilamatapurana, the Kuttanimata Kavya and the writings of Ksemendra make here and there only passing references on the subject. We have, therefore, to fall back mainly on Kalhana's Rajatarangini.

Castes

A close study of Kalhana's work shows that society in ancient Kashmir comprised several castes, such as Brahmans, Nisadas, Kiratas, Dombas, Candalas and Svapakas. But the adamant rigidity, which marked the caste system in India, was absent in Kashmir. This was, perhaps, due to the influence of Buddhism which flourished here quite early. No wonder, we find in the history of this country many men and women belonging to low castes occupying positions of trust and responsibility. Under king Cakravarman, for instance the Dombas practically filled all the prestigious posts in the court. Two of his queens also belonged to this caste.

Another point which strikes a reader's mind so forcibly is the absence of such castes as Kashatriyas, Vaisas and Sudras, although the conception of the population as consisting of the four traditional castes was not altogether unknown in early Kashmir.

At any rate, the Brahmans were the more privileged and the more honoured than any other caste. The country was, therefore, a land of abounding happiness for them. The occupations pursued by them were varied. A vast majority of them, was, however, engaged in the study of scriptures and the calling of priests and teachers. Some of them joined government service and worked not only in civil but also military departments. Thus we see that Mitrasarman, the chief minister of Lalitaditya, Devasarman, a minister of Jayapida, and Phalguna, the chief minister of Didda, were all Brahmans. So were Bujanga, Campaka and Ajjaka, Lovaraja and Yasoraja in the times of Samgramaraja, Harsa and Sussala respectively, who held military posts and took active part in fighting.

Besides sacrificial fees, the main source of their income was the revenue derived from the land-grants or Agraharas donated by the kings and other rich people. It follows from this that the Brahmans in Kashmir were mainly dependent on land and, therefore, formed a class of small landlords. Donations were also frequently made to them. The Nilamatapurana indeed considers it a meritorious act if someone gave them gifts on the occasion of a religious ceremony. The temple priests also pocketed the revenue of the villages endowed to the temples. It is interesting to note that they made to them. The Nilamatapurana indeed considers it a meritorious act if someone gave them gifts on the occasion of a religious ceremony. The temple priests also pocketed the revenue of the villages endowed to the temples. It is interesting to note that they made a further pile not only by selling flowers, incense, etc. to the devotees but also by reselling the latter's offerings to the public. The life of the Brahmans was thus such that it involved little expenditure of energy.

Not a few of the Kashmiri Brahmans were, however the descendants of those who had migrated from the other parts of India.

Rajaputras or Rajputs, the traditional fighting caste in the Indian society, are also referred to by Kalhana in his work, although these references are few. Tantrins, Ekanangas and Lavanyas are, however, much spoken of. All of them seem to have been the tribes of professional soldiers who formed, at later times, into formidable groups and virtually acted as king-makers.

Nisadas were probably the aboriginal tribes and occupied a very low position in the social ladder. They earned their livelihood by following such callings as hunting, boating and fishing.

Kiratas lived in the forests and made their both ends meet by killing wild animals. By profession, therefore, they were very close to the Nisadas and both were much looked down upon.

The Dombas were a caste of menials. Their professions included hunting, singing and dancing. Sometimes Kalhana also calls them Svapakas, a term which literally means dog-cooker. The people invariably turned up their noses at them.

Another despised, low caste in ancient Kashmir was that of the Candalas. Some of them were engaged as royal body-guards and watchmen. They also quite often came handy to wicked persons as assassins.

Classes of people

It would, however, not be amiss to study the Kashmir society from the socio-economic standpoint. According to it, we find that the structure of the society was mainly based on the principle of private ownership of wealth and property. The wealth itself was produced by the

three principal methods of agriculture, industry and trade, and, based on these methods of production, there evolved three distinct classes of people with, of course several subdivisions of their own. There were some other classes too, such as the soldiers, clerks, scholars, etc., who were not concerned either with the production or distribution of wealth, but who served the society in their own occupational capacities.

Connected with land was the class of the people called Damras. The exact meaning of this term is, however, still a guess work. It is frequently referred to by Ksemendra, Kalhana, Jonaraja and Srivara, but none of them has tried to give its meaning. According to Wilson, the Damras were a fierce tribe, inhabiting the mountains to the north of Kashmir. In St. Petersburg dictionary, their original etymological meaning is given as riotous, rebel. But a study of Rajatarangini shows that these people were not necessarily a tribe inhabiting the mountains north of Kashmir, nor were they always riotous. They seem to have derived their power from large holdings of land. This inference is indeed supported by the fact that their seats of power lay in highly productive parts of the Kashmir valley. We may, therefore, say that the Damras were territorial lords, or feudal land-owners.

Kalhana's first reference to them appears in the Fourth Taranga of his work where Lalitaditya is shown advising his successors not to leave with the cultivators more than what was necessary for their bare sustenance and the tillage of their fields, as otherwise "they would become in a single year very formidable Damras, and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king." Incidentally, this passage leaves us with no doubt about the fact that the agriculturists were transformed into powerful Damras when they acquired considerable wealth.

But Lalitaditya's successors seem to have made light of his warning, with the result that the Damras did become a very powerful and dangerous element in the State. About the middle of the 10th century A.D., they began to put their oars in the questions of royal succession. There were no doubt times when efforts were made to curb their power, but they could only be scotched and not slain. With the accession of the Lohara dynasty on the throne of Kashmir in the beginning of the 11th century, the Damras, in fact, become supreme in the country and had their say in all the affairs of the State. Whether he was the reigning ruler or an aspirant to the throne, their support became a must for him. A few kings like Ananta, Kalsa and Harsa did try to tame them, but the Damras set all their efforts at naught. By the 12th century, they came to acquire enormous wealth, armed retainers and strong-holds at many important and strategic places in the valley. "The fortified residences of the Damras frequently mentioned by the *Upavesana* were like the castles of medieval feudal lords, centres of territorial divisions in which, though they may have often comprised not more than a couple of villages, the king's authority could assert itself only by armed force at times of rest. And there was no change in this state of affairs till the beginning of the medieval times.

With the acquisition of wealth and power, the social status of the Damras also rose higher. This is quite evident from the instances of the ruling class and even the royal families entering into matrimonial alliances with them.

Succession among them seems to have been hereditary, for we find that when a Damra died, his landed estates automatically passed to his heir. But apart from this direct inheritance, the status of a Damra could also be obtained with the acquisition of lands and riches by such

other methods as trade and commerce. It implies from this that the Damaras did not belong to any particular caste or tribe. Some of them were, in fact, called Lavanya Damras, or the Damras who originally belonged to the Lavanya tribe. The time of Harsa is particularly noted for this change in the status of the Lavanyas. But the origin of the Lavanya tribe, like that of the Damras themselves, is still shrouded in mystery.

What lay at the bottom of the rise and growth of the Damras has also become the subject matter of the a controversy. We think that the economic structure itself of the society in Kashmir not only supported the existence of this class, but also gave a strong impetus to its growth. Being landlocked, Kashmir was traditionally an agricultural country. It was only for a brief period under the Kusanas that it became a commercial centre and an important trade emporium.

Under these circumstances, the rise of a landed aristocracy was inevitable. With the growth of population, the pressure on land and, therefore, its value also further increased. As a consequence, the owners of land gradually become very rich and powerful. The authority of the government was on the other hand eaten away by the frequent wars of succession. The crown's power further expanded into weakness when a line of vicious and worthless rulers occupied the throne. The evolution of events may, therefore, be said to have helped the rise and growth of the Damra power.

Agriculture was the mainstay also of an overwhelming majority of other people in Kashmir. But unfortunately we are in abyss of ignorance about their condition. Possibly, some of them were tenants of the Damras and also worked as agricultural labourers in their estates on some sort of wage system. The rest of the cultivators shared their produce with the king as all the

lands, except those held by the Damras and donated by the king to some persons or organisations, belonged to him. The cultivators' share was, however, very small in comparison to that of the king. Some of the kings were, indeed, so oppressive and rapacious that they took away the whole harvest, including the cultivator's share. The latter were further squeezed by the king's officials called Kayasthas whom Ksemendra compares to the fish catchers who come to devour rustic fishes.

The lot of cultivators was thus most unenviable; they lived in a condition of abject poverty. "While the courtiers ate fried meat and drank delightful light wine, scented with flowers and deliciously cooled, the cultivators of the villages had to take rice or dry barley in husks, and wild growing vegetable of bitter taste called utpalasaka.

Next to the class of agriculturists was that of the craftsmen and other industrial workers. Kashmir has indeed been known the world over since long for a number of its arts and crafts. The more important classes of people engaged in these included weavers, jewellers, black-smiths, potters, sculptors and leather tanners. Nothing is, however known about their organisation.

The valley was also full of and merchants. We have already made a reference to the growth of trade and commerce in the time of the Kusans. With the establishment of their rule in Kashmir, the overland trade routes were opened through Central Asia. But no information is available on this subject after their fall. During the period between 7th and 9th centuries, however, Kalhana tells us there was a wealthy merchant class in Kashmir, and some of its members owned palaces which far excelled the royal palace in comforts and decorations. Thereafter, trade and commerce probably sank into insignificance and we find the people

mostly engaged in this profession taking to the business of money lending. But in their new avocation, they came to adopt dishonest and fraudulent practices under the quick pulse of gain.

In addition to the above mentioned principal classes, there were also teachers, astrologers, physicians, priests, artisans, barbers, carters, workers of water wheels hand mills, etc., fishermen, herdsman, soldiers, labourers, and many others who served the society in various useful ways. Though we have not the means of forming an opinion about their position and organization, yet it may be presumed that each of these classes was further split up into sub-divisions and gradations, according to the wealth, learning and status of each in the society.

The men in the king's service may also be treated as a separate class. They were all known by the general term of Kayastha. For convenience, however, they may be subdivided into two classes-the nobility and the bureaucracy.

The nobility consisted of the highest administrative and military officials of the State, such as the ministers, counsellors and governors. Poets and litterateurs of high repute also seem to have belonged to this division. Most of the members of nobility drew fat salaries and some of them owned estates also.

The Kayasthas drew their salary from the royal treasury, probably every month. They also often usurped part of the taxes collected by them on behalf of the government, and realised unjust and often vexatious bribes and other perquisites from the unfortunate people who came under their charge. Both Ksemendra and Kalhana, therefore, make many a hard hit at their obnoxious and odious traits of character-their greed for money, dishonest dealings, low morality and pride. Still, they came to acquire great power, particularly during the

later Hindu rule, because they were efficient in conducting the day-to-day administration. It was for their capacity to raise new taxes, says Kalhana, that "the kings of Kashmir become habituated to looking at the faces of the Kayasthas for guidance, and to following the direction of their servants. Some of the kings like Uccala were, however, roused and stimulated into taking a punitive action against them, but their success proved to be only temporary.

Commenting upon the reasons responsible for their unusual greed and oppressive character, a scholar says : "the government in early Kashmir was generally unstable. There were frequent wars of succession. The change of a ruler inevitably brought a change in the home policy of the government. Favourites of the new king were posted in the highest offices of the State and there were thorough overhauls of the different administrative departments. Many Kayasthas were dismissed from their jobs, whereas new favourites were appointed in their places. This instability of their position forced the Kayasthas to adopt means by which they could amass sufficient private wealth within the span of their tenure of office, so that they could be secure for the rest of their life on dismissal."

Position of Women

a very striking feature of the political history of ancient Kashmir is the prominent and sometimes decisive, role played by women. The names of queens Sugandha, Didda, Suryamati and Srilekha are too well-known to be quoted. Instances of the women of lesser status taking part in the politics of the country are also not lacking. This shows that women in Kashmir were imparted education not only of a general nature but also in diplomacy and statecraft.

The curriculum of general education in the 9th

century included the study of sexual sciences of Vatsyayana, Dattaka, Vitaputra and Rajaputra; the Natyasastra of 'Bharata; Viskahila's treatise on art; Dantila's work on music, Vrksayurveda ; besides the instruction in needle-work, wood-work, metal-work day modelling, cookery; and practical training in music, singing, dancing and painting. Bilhana extols the women of Kashmir for their fluent speech in both Sanskrit and Prakrit.

The use of evil was non-existent, and men and women freely mixed with each other. In the time of Harsa, for instance, the ladies of the court witnessed musical and dancing performances in company with the male courtiers. We also find women fighting side by side with their men folk, both on foot and horseback. While fleeing his country after an unsuccessful coup against Harsa, Vijayamalla was actively assisted by his wife who, sitting along with his husband on the horseback, kept the pursuers at bay.

That the women enjoyed equal rights with men is amply shown by many references. When, for instance, Harsa was about to be crowned, "there came before him Sugala, hiding by boldness her great offence, to claim her position as the chief queen." While describing Bhoja's rebellion against Jayasimha, Kalhana also makes a mention of a lady who held a fief in her own right. This goes to prove that women owned private property too.

Regarding the age of marriage, however, we are in the dark. But a reading of the Rajatarangini gives the impression that child marriage was probably not in vogue.

Although polyandry was not practised in the valley, polygamy was quite common, at least among the rich. The seraglios of the kings teemed with queens and

concubines from all castes and their example was followed by aristocrats. Kalsa, for examples, had seventy-two women in his seraglio and Harsa collected as many as three hundred and sixty.

Since there prevailed joint family system, we find mothers-in-law wielding their well-known rod of authority and strictness over their daughters-in-law. Queen Suryamati, for instance, treated the wives of her son, Kalsa, so hardly that she required them to clean the palace with their own hands.

The widows were expected to lead a simple and pure life. The use of ornaments, gorgeous dress and any other item of luxury were forbidden to them. But the remarriage of widows and other women does not appear to have been absolutely forbidden. Thus we see that after the death of Rinchana, his widow, Kota Devi, remarried Udyanadeeva. And king Pratapaditya II, after he was struck on the wife of his friend, led her to the altar.

The custom of Sati, i.e., the burning of a widow on the funeral pyre of her husband, was also prevalent from an early time. Rajatarangini is indeed replete with the instances of Sati. When the dead body of the husband was available, his wife burnt herself along with it; but when it was not, she ascended a separate pyre, even some days after his death as did, for instance, Jayamati, the queen of Uccala. Sometimes courtesans also accompanied their masters into the fire. This custom was, in fact, so deep-rooted in the valley that even mothers, sisters and other near relatives burned themselves along her son, Ananda, the sister of Dilhabhattarka with her brother, and Vallabha with her brother-in-law, Malla. But it is not that every widow had to commit Sati. The Damra widows in general did not follow their dead husbands to the pyre.

Ksemendra and Damodragupta tell us that prostitution was popular in the Kashmir society from early times. Kalhana also testifies to the gross immorality and laxity of character prevailing especially among the ladies of the palace and court. Queen Didda's life is a glaring example of this.

A life free from maxims and morals naturally gave rise to a number of evil practices in the society. One of these was the institution of Devadasi or the dedication of girls to the temple deities. It seems to have existed in Kashmir and other parts of India from ancient times. Kalhana mentions that king Jalauka gave a hundred women of his seraglio, who were well versed in dancing and singing, to serve in the temple of Jysthara. In the course of a hunting expedition, Lalitaditya came across two dancing girls who were dedicated to a temple. Kalsa himself married a dancing girl, Kayya, who was attached to a temple. Our Chronicler himself was an eye-witness of superannuated dancing ladies in the temples of the valley. A study of his work further shows that these Devadasis could be taken away by the ruler for his personal enjoyment.

Kashmir was traditionally an agricultural country. It was dotted with numerous villages and blessed by nature with a fertile soil and abundance of water, these were, according to Kalhana, wholly absorbed in agriculture. Rice was the staple food crop of Kashmir. It was also offered in worship to gods. Consequently, the agriculturists spared no labour in its cultivation. Commonly known by the name of Dhanya, its seed was sown in the month of Caitra. But before sowing, the lands were properly ploughed and oxen were employed for tillage. By the month of Bhadra the fields were covered with the ripened crop, and presented a sight for the sore eyes of the cultivators. A month later, in Asvina,

the harvest was reaped. It was soon followed by a ceremony of new crops. Before husking, the paddy was well dried in the sun. Besides rice, the cultivation of barley and pulses also received the attention of the Kashmiri agriculturists. The principal varieties of the latter were gram (cana), lentil (masura), blackgram (muga) and Kulatha. According to Nilamatapurana, the crop of barely ripend towards the close of Jyesta(June).

For fruits, Kashmir has been known since early time. Hiuen Tsang, who visited the valley in the 7th century A.D., says that the country "was a good agricultural one and produced abundant fruits and flowers." He took particular notice of the pear, the wild plum, the peach, the apricot (hang or mul) and the grape (po-tau). The cultivation of grapes mentioned by Bilhana and Kahana also. The latter says: grapes "which were scarce even in heaven were common in Kashmir."

Kashmir has been famous for yet another agricultural product, that is, saffron. Nilamatapurana often alludes to it by the name of Kumkuma. Kalhana and Bilhama also testify to its natural growth in the valley.

Irrigation

The cultivation of rice pre-supposes availability of irrigational facilities in Kashmir. But these did not come up to scratch in the past. Consequently, seldom was the produce of land sufficient to meet the needs of the country. The frequent floods, caused by the heavy summer rains, further depleted the food supply by damaging the crops. Famines were also caused either by early or scanty snow-fall. The sum-total of these circumstances was that the price of a Khari (177lbs.) of rice was never less than 200 dinnaras up to the middle of the 9th century A.D. It rose to 1050 dinnaras under the later Karkotas when the country was ravaged by floods.

In 917 A.D. also disastrous floods caused the price of one Khari of rice to soar as high as one thousand dinnaras.

No doubt some kings like Damodra, Baladitya and Lalitaditya aroused themselves to protect the cultivable lands from floods by the construction of dykes and embankments, the first serious attempt in this direction was made in the time of Avantivarman. We have already noted how his minister, Suyya, drained the whole valley, regulated the waters of the Jehlum, constructed protective works and arranged the supply of water of each village on permanent basis. As a result of these splendid operations, the price of a Khari of rice fell so low as 36 dinnaras!

Works like those of Suyya were probably undertaken by some others also who followed him, but no one could permanently emancipate the country from the bane of recurring floods and famines.

Industry

Though agriculture was the occupation of the majority of the people of Kashmir, various industries also absorbed a fair proportion of them. The most important of these were the manufacture of textiles, leather-goods and jewellery. There were also the industries of stone-work, wood-work and pottery.

The textile industry had attained a high degree of excellence. In one of the tiles of Harvan, a lady is seen robed in transparent clothes. Hiuen Tsang also speaks of this industry in glowing terms. Form his account, it appears that there were three main types of clothing used by the people: the first being Kauseya which covered various kinds of silk and muslin; the second, Ksauma or linen manufactured from flax and hemp; and third, Kambala, implying woollen blankets and other kinds of cloth made from the wool of goats and similar other animals.

There is a reference in the Sabha Prava of the Mahabharata to a "thread spun by worms" which was one of the many presents made to Yudhishtira by a feudatory prince from the north western side of the Himalayas. Some scholars hold the opinion that this was silk offered by a king from Kashmir. Mizra Haidar Dughlat, who wrote in the middle of the 16th century A.D., however, definitely says that "among the wonders of Kashmir are the number of mulberry trees cultivated for their leaves for the production of silk."

A variety of woollen blankets and garments, such as lohita-Kambala, Sthula-kambala, kutha and pravara are referred to in Ksemendra's Normamla and Samayamatrka, and in Kalhana's Rajatarangini also. The latter writer says that Pattana (modern Patna) was noted for the weaving of cloths.

While listing the various kinds of woollen cloth, Huien Tsang also refers to "a texture made from the wool of a wild animal." He calls it ho-la-li and says that, "being fine and soft and easily spun and woven." it was "prized as a material for clothing." Without doubt it was the pashmina cloth made from the fine wool (pashm) of the shawl goat. shawls are said to have been mentioned in the Mahabharata also.

The woollen industry naturally presupposes the existence of a population devoted to pasture. we, therefore, feel justified in believing that many people in Kashmir must have taken up cattle-rearing as their profession. Kalhana, in fact, indirectly refers to this fact when he says that Pattana, which was a cloth weaving centre, was also a city famous for the transactions and sale of cattle.

Smithery was another important industry. The people engaged in it mostly manufactured a variety of

tools employed in agriculture, domestic utensils of copper and brass, and different kinds of war weapons. Some images discovered at various places in the valley bespeak a high standard of craftsmanship that the workers had achieved in casting and moulding bronze also.

Gold and silversmiths too must have had a good business. There are numerous references in the *Rajatarangini* to gold bangles, armlets, rings and other ornaments worn by kings, queens and countries for personal adornment. These persons even indulged in wasteful prodigality of taking their meals in dishes and cups made of gold and silver. Pitchers made of gold were also used.

Closely connected with the metal industry was that of pottery. A large quantity of earthenware assignable to the neolithic period and early historical periods has been recovered from Burzahom and other sites not far away from it. At Avantipur also have been found such specimens of pottery as jar, ghara, handi, jug, bowl, kangir or earthen brazier, incense burner, bottle and earthen lamp. Many of these items are datable to the 9th century A.D. Several terracotta heads discovered at Ushkur also speak of the potter's art. Ksemendra even makes a mention of earthen rings which adorned the ears of poorer classes, and Kalhana refers to a potter-woman. These multitude of facts go to show that pottery as an industry was in a thriving condition.

Glass manufacturing also seems to have been fairly advanced in early Kashmir. There was a tirtha of Papasudana. It has a spring. Kalhana states that a merchant named Padmaraja arranged a regular supply of its water to king Bhoja of Malwa in large glass jars.

Among other industries of note, mention may be made of leather-work, wood-work and stone-work. To

articles made of leather, there are numerous references in the works of Ksemendra and Kalhana. The former, for instance, speaks of leather water-bag as an important item in the camp luggage of a kayastha officer, while the latter scholar remarks that a particular leather worker charged one hundred dinnaras for repairing a torn shoe and a whip. The manufacturing of boats, carriages, planquins and other types of conveyances, and household furniture also must have provided employment to a good number of workers.

Similarly, the presence of numerous ruins of grand and massive stone temples and beautiful old images testify to the existence of a large number of masons and sculptors, and to their admirable mastery to skill in their profession.

The minor industries included those of gardeners, fishermen, garland-makers, barbers, carters and different types of artisans who formed various classes of society. There were copper mines in Kashmir and these also must have provided livelihood to some workers.

Trade and commerce

Here again we are much handicapped by the dearth of material. We shall have, therefore, to content ourselves with general statements.

The fact that there were regularly arranged markets or hattas in the city of Pravarapura, and that some members of the royal family founded new markets at other places shows that a brisk trade was carried on inside Kashmir from an early period. The woollen goods, food-grains, cattle, iron implements, earthen wares, metallic vessels, leather-goods, saffron, grape-wine, etc. being the principle natural and industrial products of the country, it is logically consistent to presume that these must have formed the chief articles of trade. Similarly,

the towns and cities of Pravarapura or Srinagar, Parihasapura, Puranadhisthana. Huskapura, Jaya-pura, Samkarapattana, avantipur and Surapura seem to have been great commercial centres.

River Jehlum and its tributaries served the chief highways and boats the principal means by which the internal trade was carried in the valley. *rajatarangini*, indeed, frequently alludes to the river journeys, boats and boat bridges, and ghats or landing places. According to one authority, big stone blocks used in the construction of massive temples were also carried in strong boats. That the Jehlum played an important role in the commercial life of Kashmir is as plain as pikestaff from the fact that most of the cities and towns were situated on its banks.

The external trade of Kashmir was carried by various routes leading to the rest of India and Central Asia. Tibet and China. the chief of these went from Baramulla or Varahamulla to Gandhara. To the east of Kashmir, there was the third important route leading through the Zo-ji-la pass to Ladakh and then to Tibet and China.

To India proper led several other routes through the Pir Pantsal range. Chief among these passed through the Banasala or Banihal pass, which linked up Kashmir and the hill States of the east Punjab, and on which the snowfall was comparatively little, with the result that communication through it was possible through out the year. To the west of Banasala lay the pass of Siddhapatha which directly connected Srinagar with Sialkot in the Punjab. west of the Siddhapatha pass itself, near the central part of the Pir Pantsal range, there ran the route of Pir Pantsal. much use of it was made in early days for the purposes of trade between Kashmir and the central Punjab. The last important route across the Panstal range

passed through the Tosamaidan pass which joined Srinagar to Lohara and then led to the valley of Punch.

it has already been noted that under the Kusan rule Kashmir became the hub of the central Asian region so far as trade was concerned. Her commercial contacts with India were established most probably even earlier, perhaps in the days of Asoka. If Kalhana is to be believed, Kashmir had political and cultural relations with Loh or Leh (Ladakh) from considerably early times. Commercial contacts between them could not have lagged behind.

Paucity of information prevents us from making an emphatic assertion about the articles of export from Kashmir. we may, however, safely presume that chief of these included raw wool, manufactured woollen cloths, hides, skins, leather goods, fruits and saffron.

Salt was the main article of import. It was not at all found or manufactured in kashmir and all of its requirements had to be met from outside, particularly from the Punjab through the Pir Pantsal route. some kinds of spices were perhaps imported from the regions adjoining Afghanistan. From China came vermillion and fine clothes. Coral, which had a greater demand in Kashmir than in any other country, was imported from the western parts of the world.

Each of the mountain passes had a watch station at the end of the route, where customs officers were posted to collect duties. All the commodities passing through these stations were duly stamped and registered.

Invasion and Accession

Pakistan had mobilised unruly and warring tribesmen of North-west Frontier Province particularly Mahsuds, who were notorious for their ferocious character for ages and were the most ungovernable and wildest of wild community. Afridies, Wana Wazirs, Swatis and Burnerwal tribes were also sent in thousands. In all, 60,000 Pathans were pushed into Jammu and Kashmir. The British Government used to offer to the chieftains of these tribes substantial sums of money as bribes. The tribes had also political ambitions. They were likely to make a strong demand to have an independent State of Pakhtoonistan for themselves for which they had the powerful support of Afgan Government of King Zahir Shah. Thus, Pakistan had twin objectives in tribesmen's involvement in Kashmir operations. They were instigated in the name of Islam to go to Kashmir to save their Muslim brothers. They were further lured by the promise that they could keep for themselves gold and money, which they would meet in the rich and beautiful State. Pakistan organised a combined force consisting of tribals as well as personnel from its own army under the code name of "Operation Gulmarg" devised, planned and led by Major-General Akbar Khan (who had assumed the name of General Tariq) assisted by Brigadier Sher Khan. British General Sir Frank Messervy was privy to the whole plan. Abbottabad town on the Pakistan side was launching pad for the raid. Every Pathan tribe was to

send one 'Lashkar' (armed bands)-1000 tribals to abbatabad.

Early in the morning of October 22, 1947, the main column of the raiders crossed the frontier from Garhi Habibullah and attacked Muzaffarabad. The J & K State Forces defending this frontier post consisted equally of Muslims and Hindus. The Muslims joined the enemy en-block and gave them complete information about the defence set-up in the entire areas. Thus, Muzaffarabad was given over to the fire and sword before its sleeping citizens could realise what had happened. The Dogra pickets located in a high ground in the Schools area north of the city fought with separate gallantry and inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy. But they were engulfed in the tidal wave of the raiders, who pressed on to the Domel bridge. At Domel, Col. Narain Singh was startled by the sudden bursts of firing and shouting in Muzaffarabad and learnt of the attack from a wounded sepoy who had managed to flee from there. Within minutes from this news, his own headquarters was attacked by the raiders and the Muslims troops at Domel also joined to enemy. The Adjutant, Captain Ram Singh was killed by his own soldiers as he ran to unlock the armoury. The Battalion Headquarters and the motor platoon fought tenaciously the whole day, suffering and inflicting heavy casualties. At night fall about 15 exhausted and wounded men who, crept out of the positions and took to the hills where they perished of starvation and bitter cold. Col. Narain Singh had been able to inform Srinagar about this massive enemy invasion. In Muzaffarabad, the Hindus and Sikhs, who were in sizeable number in the town and its nearby villages as also those Hindu and Sikh employees belonging to other parts of the State but posted in the district were killed.

Col. Narain Singh's message was received in Srinagar with gloom and anxiety. The Kashmir Bridge, which was stationed in Srinagar, had earlier been moved to Jammu. There was no Force available at Srinagar Cantonment. However, a small Force was gathered consisting of 2 platoons, a detachment of 3-inch mortars, a few men doing line communication duty on Baramulla-Kohala road and even some men from J.& K. Army Training School doing Course at Srinagar. This heterogeneous Body of 150 men led by Brigadier Rajinder Singh, Officiating Chief of Army Staff of J.& K Forces left Srinagar At 06-30 P.M. on 22nd October, 1947. He reached Uri at Mid-Night. On the morning of 23rd, Captain Prithi Singh advanced from Uri to Garhi. They were halted at Chakoti. The road was choked with hundreds of refugees fleeing towards Srinagar in vehicles and on foot, men, women and children frantically pushing themselves onwards to escape the terror behind. At this stage, Mehr Chand Mahajan conveyed the situation to Sardar Patel in a Hastly worded letter on October 23 saying: "Practically, the whole of our Muslim military and police has either deserted or are not behaving in the proper manner. The help which you promised has not arrived. We are surrounded on all sides". With no hope of any reinforcements, Brigadier Rajinder Singh continued to hold on and he took the pledged to fight to the end and stood by it. The first encounter took place at Garhi on 23rd October. Brigadier Rajinder Singh challenged the raiders and suffered heavy casualties. He fell back to Uri, established a new position and asked for reinforcement from Srinagar. In small hours of morning of 24th October, another pitifully weak reinforcement was sent from Srinagar consisting of one platoon, a detachment of 3-inch mortar and a section of MMGs. Under Cap. Jwala Singh, who had orders to contact Brigadier Rajinder Singh and hold the enemy at Uri "at all costs and to the last man". Brig. Rajinder

Singh's men blew up the Uri bridge and succeeded in stalling the raiders' advance. The position at Uri had to be abandoned soon in the face of fresh onslaughts by very large and overwhelming enemy force and heavy fire. Hundreds of lorries transporting raiders were visible. The defenders fell back to Mahura. The fight continued on 25th and enemy was held for the whole day. Raiders doubled their strength on 26th and managed to reach within 70 yards of the defenders' position. But they were again halted for the whole day. The Brigadier was forced to move back to another position at Bunyar, where he had some topographical advantages. The Brigadier and his men used their ammunition sparingly holding their fire until enemy was within range. The valient soldiers kept the raiders engaged throughout the night. Next morning, the Brigadier found his force reduced to half and ammunition exhausted. He himself fell down with very severe injuries, tried to lift him and to carry him back with them. The Brigadier pleaded with them to let him lie there and asked them to keep a pistol by his side. He further ordered them to fall back and take up new position. In early hours of 27th October he was cut to pieces by the raiders near Bunyar on Uri-Baramulla Road. The raiders did advance but only over his dead body. His strategic and gallant defence caused the raiders three precious days shattering their dream of capturing Srinagar and its airport and celebrate Id there on 26th, as had been desired by Mr. Jinnah. By then Indian Forces were well on their way to defend Kashmir. The operational skill coupled with extra-ordinary courage, determination and devotion to duty of Brig Rajinder Singh and his soldiers enabled them to successfully obstruct the raiders and save Srinagar. He has been called "Savior of Kashmir" the title he rightly deserved. He was awarded free India's gallantry award 'Mahavir Chakra' (Posthumous).

'By now panic had stricken the Valley. People of Baramulla, who were to be the next target of the fury of marauders were in fear and tremble. On 25th October, a youthful and popular leader of the National Conference in Baramulla, Mohammad Maqbool Sherwani arrived in Srinagar to apprise the National Conference leaders about the coming disaster. On hearing the account from Sherwani, leaders got alarmed. Sherwani was advised to stay back in Srinagar for safety. But he refused and insisted to return and be with his people at the time of crisis. Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues in the National Conference became panicky. In the entire history of Kashmir there was no darkest chapter than when they were under Pathan rule; now it was their descendants who were threatening to take over once again. The leaders felt alarmed at the prospect of Muslim League hundlums along with savage tribes subjugating the Valley of Kashmir. Kashmir's annexation by Pakistan meant its domination and overlordship of West Pakistan's landed aristocracy who wanted Kashmir to be their summer resort and place of luxurious enjoyment with Kashmiries as bonded laborers. Large crowds particularly the workers of the national conference assembled at Mujahid Manzil and urged Sheikh Abdullah to seek India's assistance for protection of the protection of the beautiful valley of Kashmir. Sheikh Abduallah flew to Delhi where Mehr Chand Mahajan was already knocking at the doors of Indian leaders.

Raiders marched on and reached Baramulla in the early hours of 27th October. The town was given over to plunder and rapine. Hindus and Sikhs were hunted down and killed. Young women and girls were forcibly abducted and carried off without distinction of caste, creed to be sold like cattle in the streets of Rawalpindi and Peshawar or to live and die as slaves in the mountain fastnesses of the distant tribal territory. Maqbool Sherwani was captured:

"He was lashed to the porch posts with ropes, his arms spread out in shape of a cross and he was told he must shout 'Pakistan Zindabad'. They drove nails through the palms of Sherwani's hands on his forehead they pressed a jagged piece of tin and wrote on it. "The punishment for a traitor is death". Once more Sherwani cried 'victory to Hindu-Muslim unity' and tribesmen shot bullets into his body".

Sherwani died a hero's death. His supreme sacrifice thrilled the people of Kashmir especially the workers of the National Conference, who rose as one man to face the tribal invasion.

There was Catholic Convent, an Intermediate College and hospital named after St. Joseph, run by nuns of the Franciscan Order of Mary in Baramulla. When some prominent residents of Baramulla met the head of this Cathedral, Col. Dykes for guidance in the face raiders' advance towards the town, he said with an assured voice, "Keep to the left and let 27th morning was this entire Christian Mission including Rev. Father and Mother Superior and other Nuns of St Joseph's Convent and Hospital. Only three Nuns, who took shelter in a nearby mosque could escape and survive-one was an Italian, another German and the third a Spaniard.

While this was the situation in Jammu and Kashmir what was going on in Delhi? The Indian Cabinet was meeting regularly but without being able to take any decision. In the Cabinet meeting on the 24th October, in the face of grim reports being received from the State, it was decided to send V.P. Menon, Secretary (States Ministry) immediately to Srinagar to advise Maharaja Hari Singh to move from Srinagar to Jammu at once. This advice was given as a prelude to subsequent requirements of enabling him to sign the legal and constitutional documents. It was feared that if the

Maharaja was captured by the raiders, he could be blackmailed into announcing accession to Pakistan thus presenting a fait accompli. V.P. Menon flew in to Srinagar and advised the Maharaja to be available at Jammu for further negotiations with the Indian Government. Maharaja arrived in Jammu on the 25th. Unfortunately, the communist elements within the National Conference spread a canard that the maharaja had run away and had also taken with him all his personal jewellery and ornaments etc. This canard did stick for quite some time and was even abetted by Sheikh Abdullah and his colleagues. However, the facts were otherwise. The Maharaja had not taken any jewellery etc. With him. In fact, even today, all his personal jewellery, ornaments etc. are in the State Government's Toshakhana and are subject-matter of litigation between Hari Singh's one, Dr Karan Singh and the State Government. The present status of the case is that it is before a Division Bench of Jammu and Kashmir High Court.

Inside the Kashmir Valley the civil administration collapsed. Common people did not know that Maharaja had gone to Jammu at the express advice of the Government of India. However, the entire population of Kashmir valley-Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs had risen as one man to demonstrate their resolve to face the raiders with determination. People of Srinagar and other towns came out in lakhs and took out peaceful processions on the roads and in Mohallas expressing their full faith in the National Conference and pleading for accession to India. There was complete solidarity and unity among the people. This is a golden chapter in the history of Kashmir.

The news of tribal attack on Kashmir had created both anxiety and anger in the whole of India. There were country-wide demonstrations expressing solidarity with the people of Kashmir in their hour of trial. Government

of India was urged to take immediate steps and protect Kashmir and its people by sending Army to the State without loss of time. The situation in the Country turned very inflammable and was at a boiling point. Communal frenzy in the Sub-Continent had not completely subsided. Lakhs of Hindu and Sikh refugees from Pakistan were still on the move. Atmosphere was surcharged with spirit of revenge and full of emotions. Stock of Congress leaders had sunk deep down. Partition of the country on two-nation theory and communal halocaust both in Pakistan and India had reduced it to naught. Saddest man in the country was Mahatma Gandhi. Happenings in the Sub-Continent had made him irrelevant. Everything for which he stood all his life had been swept away, his creed, his beliefs, his preachings and especially his truth. He was not participating even in the Working Committee meetings. He was nowhere near the scene of celebrations not even at the famous "tryst with destiny" function on 15th August, 1947. During that period he was touring Noakhali district of East Pakistan where Hindus were being killed.

Chief Ministers of several States also urged the Central Government to save Kashmir. Veteran liberal leader, Dr Tej Bahadur Sapru publicly warned Nehru of dire consequences if life and property of peace-loving people of Kashmir was not protected in time.

"Pakistan had gained considerable vantage on the question of Kashmir even before the Crisis broke. On the night of 24th October, news reached Delhi that well-organised tribesmen had entered Kashmir from Pakistan and were marching to Srinagar. The Defence Committee meeting next morning decided to send arms to Kashmir Government. Next day, when the Prime Minister of Kashmir saw Nehru and requested that Indian troops be sent to Kashmir Nehru declined and was persuaded by Patel and Abdullah to agree".

On account of tremendous pressure developing in the country and due to personal persuasion of Shikh Abdullah, Pt. Nehru agreed to send troops to Kashmir. "At the meeting of the Defence Committee on 26th October, Mountbatten and Chiefs of Staff (who were all British) advised against flying troops to Kashmir. But when Mountbatten saw that his Ministers were determined to do so, he give in. He has wise enough to discern that on this issue Nehru and the Cabinet might have ignored his views especially as Gandhi felt as strongly as they did. Gandhi had told Nehru that there could be no peace by submission to evil in Kashmir".

Consequent to the decision of the Cabinet in late evening on the 26th, a small contingent of troops under the command of Lt. Col. Dewan Ranjit Rai was flown to Srinagar on the morning of 27th. The contingent was totally in dark about the situation. Lt. Col. Rai with his contingent went straight on Baramulla road. But heavy groups of raiders had by then reached Pattan were flanking both right and left side of the road towards Srinagar. This small contingent of Indian troops was outnumbered and faced heavy assault. On the night 27.28, Lt. Col. Rai was killed and his troops suffered heavy casualties. Due to India's failure to act in time, Pakistan had gained definite initial advantage. But the Army authorities, though handicapped by being under overall command of a British Officer, grasped the critical situation and rose to the occasion. Brigadier Hiralal Atal was sent from the Army headquarters to Srinagar to take over the liaison work with the State authorities. He flew into Srinagar on 27th morning. The plane in which he arrived circled round the town for quite some time. This raised the morale of the people as it gave an indication to them that assistance for the defence of Srinagar was immediately forthcoming. Brigadier Atal was later assisted in liaison work by major P.N. Kak, and officer in

J & K Forces. Urgent flashes were sent during the day on 27th itself to all the Military Commands to send as many troops as they could for fight in Jammu and Kashmir. Trains soon came towards Delhi and Pathankot from Eastern Command and Southern Command. The raiders had succeeded in entering several villages of Badgam Tehsil in the periphery of Srinagar. Hindu and Sikh refugees from Baramulla and villages of Badgam area poured into Srinagar in continuous caravans increasing the panic among the population. Col. Rai's death and liquidation of his almost entire contingent at the hands of the raiders created fresh threat to Srinagar, situation remained critical on 28th. Major- General H.L. Atal says:

"On 28th October, 1947, Pandit Kachru a Congressman and confident of Pt. Nehru met me and said that the family of Sheikh Abdullah should be evacuated at the earliest moment. This was evidently at the behest of Sheikh Abdullah himself. I was taken evidently at the behest of Sheikh Abdullah himself. I was taken aback to receive such news since Sheikh Abdullah had been complaining to me about the low morale of the people of Srinagar as affected by the desertion by the Maharaja and his family...He himself was most anxious to get his family members evacuated keeping himself behind the curtain. When I spoke to him about the evacuation of his family and told him that his contemplated action was not correct he only hummed and hawed and requested me that I should make the necessary bandobast for his family to proceed to Delhi where they would be the Prime Minister's guests for the time being. I was in a quandary as to the means to be adopted in expediting the evacuation without exposing the family to detection which would have brought him into disrepute and gravely affected his leadership a contingency to be avoided at all costs. I, however, suggested that his family members both male and female

be clothed in "burqas" and brought to the airport that evening in a car-not the one usually used by him-by about 16-30 hours and that he should not be there. I got to the airport before the appointed hour and arranged the reservation of six seats in an aircraft which was to take evacuees to Delhi. I also gave verbal instructions to the pilot to keep absolute mum about the affair, ring up the P.M's residence on reaching Delhi, ask for transport to fetch them. Brig. L.P. Sen took the command of the forces. 1500 raiders were reported taking route via Sopore. Some raiders outflanked Patan and took to Tangmarg road which met? Baramulla-Srinagar Road at Narbal- a place of great importance. There was heavy attack on Pattan. Raiders outflanked towards Sumbal and Magam. From 31st October air strafing was launched from Narbal to Baramulla. Groups of raiders were moving through from villages to Badgam. Tempests from Ambala and spitfires from Srinagar airfield went out on strafing missions along Srinagar-Baramulla/Muzaffarabad Road and succeeded in destroying more lorries and men of the raiders. On 3rd November, a bitter battle took place near the Srinagar airport itself. One company of troops took position on a ridge near Badgam-Srinagar Road. The Company near Badgam was attacked by 700 raiders at 1400 hours at a point just North of Badgam. This Company was taken by surprise and suffered heavily. The raiders aim was to capture Srinagar airport. They attacked repeatedly. This Company of Indian troops including its commander, Major Somnath Sharma was wiped out. Ammunition trucks were looted by the raiders. Major Sharma was awarded 'Param Veer Chakra' posthumously. His memorable message to the Brigade headquarters was as follows:

"The enemy are only 50 yards from us. We are heavily outnumbered. We are under devastating fire I

shall not withdraw an inch but will fight to the last man and the last round".

The bloody battle near Srinagar airport created gloom in Delhi. On 4th November, Sardar Patel asked Defence Minister Baldev Singh to accompany him to Srinagar.

V. Shankar says:

"Our contingent was heavily outnumbered but put up a brave stand and halted them long enough to enable to organise further re-inforcements, though at the cost of Major Sharma's life. The raiders advance was delayed but not fully checked and they reached within a few miles of the city and the airport-our only means of access to the Valley. It was virtually a touch and go situation. Hearing this and Major Sharma's death, Sardar Patel decided to visit Srinagar along with the Defence minister, Sardar Baldev Singh. After a halt of Jammu, we reached Srinagar to find Brig. Sen, who was in-charge of operations and had established his headquarters at the airport, very desperate. Even the communication between the city and the airport was not safe. Sen gave us an appreciation of the situation was not safe. Sen gave us an appreciation of the situation and pleaded that unless re-inforcements were rushed he might not be able to hold the airport, which would have meant a most shameful retreat from the Valley and its abandonment to the raiders. That was also the first time when I met Sheikh Abdullah and Bakshi Gulam Mohammed, who had come to the airport to meet Sardar Patel. They apprised him of the situation in the city which was in a state of nervous apprehension and asked for urgent measures to deal with the raiders.

"Sardar sized up the military situation quickly and decided to leave post haste for Jammu where he met the

Maharaja. They discussed the military situation and I was agreedably surprised at the mine of information about the topography and physical features of his state which the Maharaja possessed. He had also a sound knowledge of military strategy and tactics. Obviously he was not a mere figure head. Thereafter, Sardar left for Delhi where he arrived in a mood of serious reflection. He ordered the stoppage of all airline services and asked the Commander-in-Chief to fly the required number of men and arms the next day to Srinagar in a continuous ferry flight operation after dawn. Both H.C. Sarin who was Private Secretary to Sardar Baldev Dingh and I went round at night to get as many planes and their pilots ready for the flights the next day and they all responded cheerfully to a man. It think we were able to fly some six to eight hundred men the next day to Srinagar and with their help not only was Brig. Sen able to hold on to his position but he was also able to counter attack and break the back of the raiders".

On the same day, late at night Sardar Patel told the Cabinet that it was a bloody was and India should act accordingly. As a result, Air ?Force was also alerted. Baramulla-Badgam area was straffed and bombed. Brig. Sen ordered withdrawl from Pattan to a place 8 kms, from Srinagar. Raiders took the bait and were killed. Clashes took place at Trikulbal. Troops were deployed at Airport, near Ran Bagh, near Parimpore, Malshaibagh, Takia ArifShah, near NOR, Homhom, Shekhpur-all near Srinagar. On 4th November, troops were holding near Shalteng. Troops were also sent via Ganderbel towards Bandipur. Soon thereafter thosands of raiders massed near Shalteng at the door step of Srinagar and started firing. It was a major attack. Troops sent via Ganderbal were contacted and asked to turn to left at Krahem after Ganderbal and two armoured cars and rifle troops via Sumbal. Raiders were fierce at Stalteng and about to

enter Srinagar. There were thousands of raiders and several hundred lorries parked nearby. Raiders were fired from three sides. Heavy air staffing was made and murderous fire was poured. After heavy casualties Zainakoot ridge was captured at 17 hours on 7th November. The battle of Shalteng proved to be decisive. Raiders fled in panic leaving behind everything they had. Air strikes unnerved them. Pattan was captured the same day, next day Baramilla was captured at 1600 hours. Thus, imminent danger to Srinagar was warded off. On 11th there was resistance at Rampur. With the help of massive air raids, Uri was captured on 12th. Beyond Uri there was stiff resistance. On 8th itself information was received that some groups of raiders had appeared near Shopian and had plans to sabotage Banihal tunnel and Ramban bridge. A squadron of J & K Body Guard was sent to Shopian. One company was sent from Jammu to Ramban and Banihal to guard those two vital lines of communications.

Unsuccessful Strategy

A Strange stillness prevails in Srinagar. The city appears untouched by the summer thunder of artillery along the Line of Control (LoC) and the gun battles between security forces and insurgents in the forests of Kupwara. Tens of thousands of pilgrims attended nightlong prayers at the Hazratbal shrine to mark the birth anniversary of Prophe. Mohammad on June 7, number unknown through Jammu and Kashmir's decade of carnage. Over 2,500 tourists are estimated to have visited the Kashmir Valley this year, and each weekend, massive crowds of holidayers gather at the Gulmarg cable car base, and the Shalimar and Nishat gardens. "Last week," noted a police official wryly, "we had the first drunken brawl in Srinagar since the trouble began. I suppose that is what you might call normalcy."

But this is a calm that it will take very little to shatter. International pressure on India in the wake of the Pokhran-II tests have opened space both for secessionist political formations, notably the All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC), and for terrorist groups. If the massing in Jammu of mercenaries imported from fundamentalist institutions throughout Pakistan predated the Pokhran tests, there are signs that Pakistan intends to escalate tensions further this autumn. Equally dangerous for the National Conference Government, a financial crisis, widespread allegations of corruption and an

evident administrative collapse have contributed to a resurgence of legitimate Opposition forces. Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah's embrace of the Bharatiya Janata Party-led coalition government at the Centre has led to an erosion of the National Conference's core ideological platforms: autonomy for the State, the revival of development and the bringing about of peace.

The Abdullah Government's ideologues point to the State's dependence on New Delhi to legitimise their support for the BJP-led Government. As the recent emergency bailout of the State's finances by the Union Government illustrated, Jammu and Kashmir's future is contingent on New Delhi's munificence. By early June, almost all infrastructure and public works in the State had come to a halt because the State Government did not have the funds to meet its debts. Unpaid bills of Rs.591 crores had reportedly piled up at the State treasury, and the Jammu and Kashmir Bank, of which the State Government is the major shareholder, refused to extend further credit after the legally mandated overdraft of Rs.545 crores was stretched to almost twice that amount. Sources told that there was a serious risk that the State would have to default on salaries, which, in the wake of the implementation of the Fifth Pay Commission's recommendations, would cost the State Government Rs.300 crores a year in addition to a year's of Rs. 120 crores.

A series of increasingly desperate appeals for aid finally brought the Jammu and Kashmir Government an on account release of Rs.250 crores, pending an eventual settlement of the State's demands with the Union Finance Ministry and the Planning Commission.

State Government officials argue that the roots of the crisis lie in the fact that the State has been left to meet its growing burden of security expenditure unaided. Since

the rise of terrorism in 1989, State officials say, the Union Government has reimbursed Rs.887.30 crores of Rs. 1,684 crores spent on security. The reimbursement of the remainder would help reduce the State's deficit, which is expected to rise from Rs. 1, 143 crores this March to Rs. 1, 544 crores next year. The quantum of Central loans quadrupled from Rs.554 crores in 198081 to Rs.2,250 crores in 199798, and their servicing burden as a percentage of outstandings rose from 10 per cent to 19 per cent over the period. Given the near-collapse of key industries such as tourism and the devastation of its infrastructure, Jammu and Kashmir's case for special assistance is clearly strong.

Yet, if the *raison d'être* of Abdullah's support for the BJP-led Government was to secure such aid, it is evident that the strategy has not succeeded: the Rs.250 crore bailout is just a drop in the ocean, and no firm commitments on long-term aid have been made. The BJP has in fact been considerably more tightfisted on Jammu and Kashmir than the United Front governments of Prime Ministers H.D. Deve Gowda and I.K. Gujral, both of whom had made available funds for longterm infrastructure redevelopment. Finance Ministry officials have made no secret of their unhappiness with Jammu and Kashmir's financial claims, arguing that the roots of the crisis lie in the profligacy of the Abdullah Government. While this argument is at best one-sided, it does illustrate the BJP establishment's ambivalence on the National Coinference. The commitments that the BJP made have not been honoured. A sum of Rs.200 crores promised for modernising and upgrading the strength of the police force in the wake of the Chapnari massacre, for one, is yet to materialise.

ABDULLAH'S inability to translate his affiliation with the BJP into developmental benefits for the State, its

stated purpose, has begun to erode his political base. Former Chief Minister Ghulam Mohammad Shah's decision to reappear on Kashmir's political landscape illustrates the widening opposition space in the State. Shah, best known for the infamous 1984 palace coup in which he replaced his brother-in-law, . Farooq Abdullah, had for the past several months been attempting a *rapprochement* with the National Conference, but to little effect. On July 6, he finally made public his reemergence as a political entity, charging the BJP with having engineered the Chapnari massacre and the Chief Minister with being a "yes-man of the Centre". Shah singled out the Rashtriya Rifles and the State police's Special Operations Group (SOG) as examples of Abdullah's failures. "Even the aged and respectable people, children and womenfolk are not spared by these vultures and have been subjected to the worst kind of humiliation in the name of crackdowns, search operations and fake encounters," he said.

While Shah's presence in the State's politics is at best peripheral, his choice of polemical strategy builds on the evident success of the strategy deployed by former Union Home Minister and now Congress(I) member of Parliament from Anantnag Mufti Mohammad Sayeed. Sayeed's victory from Anantnag in this year's Lok Sabha elections was built on winning over large sections of the pro-APHC constituency through attacks on Abdullah and the security establishment he presides over. On June 26, Congress(I) leaders, including Sayeed's daughter and member of the Legislative Assembly Mehbooba Mufti and former State Minister Ghulam Hassan Mir, made public a letter they wrote to the Governor attacking what they described as the National Conference's "bullet for bullet policy". Far from bringing about a reconciliation, they argued, the National Conference's term in office had created "more serious estrangement". Sayeed, in line

with his political position since 1996, argued that the sole solution lay in "a broad-based dialogue with various segments of public and political opinion", a formulation interpreted in the past to include factions ~ the APHC and members of terrorist groups.

This emerging appositional platform not only threatens the Nat Conference, but has whittled APHC constituency. Mehbooba recent claims that over 900 women had been molested by the SOG in the B area, for example, were clearly target the APHC's anti-National Conference ranks. While APHC chairman Jamaat-e-Islami political chief Syed Shah Geelani has repeatedly called for a role for his organisation in the on Jammu and Kashmir's future the absence of a mass base for the organisation has become evident. The APH suspension of Shabbir Shah after he floated the Democratic Freedom Party (D in May was not followed by his expulsion despite demands from terrorist groups and rumours; that he was flirting Sayeed, Muzaffar Baig, who unsuccessfully contested the Lok Sabha elections from Baramullah, and G.M. Shah Hizbul Mujahideen, for example, charged Shah with wanting to "build castles on the graves of martyrs", while far right Dukhtaran-e-Millat women organisation claimed that after h 11 started his career as a pro-Pakistan activist", the DFP chief had "ended joining hands with India".

HOW does one account for APHC's failure to translate international support for an India-Pakistan dialogue on Kashmir into pop endorsement for its own stand? The answers are not difficult to find. For one the rise of politicians such as Sayeed G.M. Shah has created democratic forms for its one-time constituents, eroding its authority. Then, there is more a little dissension within the organisation's ranks. The JamaatIslami's (supreme leader), G.M. Bhatt, has repeatedly described the armed

struggle as be redundant in the current political text, placing his notional deputy Gee in an embarrassing position. Per most important of all, APHC leaders far from certain that an India-Pakistan dialogue on Kashmir, even one imposed by the West, would serve their inter in any meaningful way. In June 1997 example, APHC leader Abdul Gani Lone had attacked the creation of a joint working group on Kashmir, claiming Prime Ministers I.K. Gujral and Nawaz Sharif shared the "colonial attitude" that the State's people could be "sold like cabbages in the bazaar".

Yet, it would be incorrect to believe that the political marginalisation of the APHC means that its significance as a platform for legitimising violence has come to an end. In key senses,, the APHC's political power rested on the influence of armed terrorist groups, and should violence escalate in the Kashmir Valley, the formation could again acquire importance.

At least two developments are of particular significance. The recovery by the SOG on July 7 of a record quantity of 13 assault rifles, three universal machine guns, three rocket launchers and a dozen remote control devices used to trigger explosives illustrated that considerable caches of arms and explosives remain in Srinagar. Just a week before this recovery, over a quintal of explosive materials were found Stored, along with assault rifles, in a place located less than 200 metres from the State Secretariat. Then, Army troops shot dead 27 terrorists in the Nowgam sector of Kupwara in an exchange of fire, trying to stop the first major infiltration attempt after 10 days of shelling along the LoC. "The guns are there, the explosives are there," says Superintendent of Police (Operations) Manohar Singh. "If we fail to check infiltration, what we have achieved in Srinagar could soon be undone."

It is precisely this realisation that the National Conference no longer appears to have. Political issues like greater autonomy for the State have been relegated to the drawer in deference to the BJP's position on Article 370, and promises of development have been subverted by corruption and nepotism. Security policy appears equally confused and unfocussed. In early July, Farooq Abdullah publicly promised promotions for four officers of the SOG and then publicly went back on this promise owing to factional political considerations. Army and paramilitary officials make no bones about their irritation with what they believe is an unsupportive government. And within the National Conference itself, there are not-so-muted murmurs of rebellion, provoked by Abdullah's decision to appoint his son and Srinagar MP Umar Abdullah as the head of the party's youth wing, signalling his status as heir-apparent.

Jammu and Kashmir's ship of state, it is evident, still floats. But it does not move: not for want of oarsmen, but because their paddles are flapping several feet Above water, in pointless frenzy.

Remembering Partition

The Partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan was an integral part of the formula for the transfer of power that the British Government, the Congress and the Muslim League arrived at in 1947. A cataclysmic event of savagery and loss, Partition forced nearly 12 million people to migrate to either side with little in hand but their status as Hindus or Muslims. It seared itself into a generation's consciousness, and the scars it left have healed on the surface but take little to open. Partition is a recurrent theme in the slew of books that have been written and published in the 50th year since Independence, suggesting that the process of understanding and coming to terms with that period of history is still not over.

With the passage of time and the passing of the generation that was most involved in and affected by the Independence movement and what followed, all recorded first-person accounts of the period have considerable historical value, regardless of whether the person was prominently involved in the politics of that period or was someone not in the limelight and whose insights of the times are confined to a more personal space. Rafiq Zakaria's part-memoir on the events leading up to Partition comes from the pen of a Muslim intellectual of the period, who rejected the politics of the Muslim League and the gravitational pull of M.A. Jinnah for those of the Congress.

Zakaria came from an orthodox Muslim family in Sopara, Maharashtra. He had his early education in Bhiwandi and Pune, and went to Mumbai, in those days a hotbed of nationalist politics, for college education. Drawn into student politics, he became the general secretary of the college students union and came into contact with several leading Congress, Socialist and Muslim League politicians. Zakaria began his journalistic writing early as a student he wrote for *Bombay Chronicle*, *Sunday Standard* and *Blitz*.

With a first-class degree in M.A., Zakaria won a scholarship to the London University, where he took his doctorate. In England, he continued working for *Blitz* and got a part-time assignment with *News Chronicle* and later with *The Observer*. He was in England from 1944 to 1949, and wrote on India-related developments. Zakaria's book is both a commentary and an analysis of the communal divide and the steady deterioration in the ground-level communal situation in the years leading up to Independence as a result of the colonial manipulation of the Muslim League and the Congress.

Zakaria's account of his boyhood, in the 1920s and 1930s, provides interesting insights into the reasons for the sense of alienation from Congress politics that grew among young Muslims and their attraction to the Muslim League. It also conveys his own sense of alienation as a person intellectually drawn to the nationalist argument from the major currents of thought that influenced his contemporaries in the Muslim community. His earliest political memories are of the '*prabhatpheries*' (morning processions) organised in his village by the Congress and the Khilafat committees in the early 1920s, a period when Hindu-Muslim relations were at their apogee.

The picture had changed by the mid-1930s. Jinnah's

call for Muslim solidarity was drawing a response from young and educated Muslims. "It was a strange era, when the youth of the two major communities were incited by their elders to distrust one another and were thus led into hostile camps," he writes. For young Muslims like him, "it was a trying time; I was distrusted by many of my coreligionists who suspected my loyalty to the community." He was torn between his patriotic involvement in the Congress and the traditional pull of Islam." He juxtaposes the approaches of Jinnah and Gandhi. The former saw liberation from the British in "constitutional terms; even his fight for the rights of Muslims had legalistic overtones". He contrasts this with the mass appeal of the saintly Gandhi.

Despite Jinnah's lack of what Zakaria calls the 11 common touch", his unconcealed contempt for the masses of poor and uneducated Muslims and his indifference to popular Muslim sentiment, he became a mass leader revered by his followers, while the Muslim League with its antinational demand for a separate homeland acquired a base among Muslims, particularly the educated segments. Zakaria attributes this partly to the failure of the Congress: first, it failed to build up a Muslim leadership that could counter the Jinnah appeal; secondly, it did not pay enough attention to working among Muslims to counter the communal propaganda of the League; and, thirdly, a section of the Congress leaders were themselves communal.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, whose learning and politics Zakaria had the greatest respect for, could not, according to him, "stand up to the bullying tactics of Jinnah". Zakaria confesses to the frustration' he felt at the "inaction that had gripped the greatest of A Muslim nationalists." He says Azad could have changed the course of events. According to Zakaria, "even the other Muslim leaders in the Congress refused to take on

Jinnah. They failed to explain the implications of Partition to their coreligionists." The considerable shift in the political loyalties of Muslims was not just a response to Jinnah's slogan of 'Islam in danger'. The predominantly Hindu character of the Congress Ministries formed in 1937 was another reason for this.

The Congress missed what Zakaria calls the "golden opportunity to stem the tide of Partition, especially as Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces, which later constituted Pakistan, had continued to stall it until the last", and communal politics in the 1940s followed its own inexorable logic. Thereafter, Zakaria covers well-known terrain the failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, the Cabinet Mission plan and the final Mountbatten plan for the vivisection of the country.

Urvashi Butalia profoundly moving book on Partition covers less explored terrain it is a socio-literary exploration of what she calls the 'human dimension' of the history of Partition. This, she argues, has been inadequately handled in the literature on Partition partly because it does not come under conventional historical categories of 'fact' and 'source' as we commonly know them but even more so because it means the stirring of long-dormant, unspoken memories of "loss and sharing, friendship and enmity, grief and joy, with a painful regret and nostalgia for loss of home, country and friends..."

The starting point for Butalia was her own family history like thousands of other families in North India, her family too had experienced the trauma of dislocation and of familial and material loss. It was also the phenomenon of contemporary communalism (the 1984 anti-Sikh riots and the more or less unbroken chain of communal upheavals since the 1980s), part legacy of pre-Partition and Partition politics, that drew her to look at

the terrain of the personal in larger historical currents. While interviews form her primary source, she has looked at diaries, memoirs, letters and other more 'traditional' source material. She has reconstructed what she calls the many voices of Partition. These include those of "People telling stories, the voices through which they speak in memoirs, diaries, autobiographies, those that emerge from the official narratives, those that are evident in communal discourses, and woven through all this, my own voice, reading, speaking, questing, hazarding explanations."

In the retelling of an intensely personal experience of Partition, the individual voice seeks almost to come to term, with a past in which Butalia says "virtually every family had a history of being both victims and aggressors in the violence". Thus we have Mangal Singh who tells the author of the decision taken by him and his two brothers before crossing over to Amritsar to 'martyr' 17 members of his family for fear that they would be converted. Then there is Basant Kant who was one among 90 women who jumped into a well for fear of Muslims, but *who* survived. "It's like when you put *rotis* into a *tandoor* and if it is too full, the ones near the top, they don't cook, the ' I have to be taken out. So the well filled up, and we could not drown ... Those who died, and those who were alive, they pulled out..." she told the author with chilling candour.

Much of the terror of this period fell on the womenfolk in Hindu, Sikh and Muslim families. In the course of her work Butalia came across a book entitled *List of Non-Muslim A bducted Women and Children in Pakistan and Pakistan Side of the Ceasefire Line in Jammu and Kashmir State*, which, in 1,414 pages, lists 21,801) women and children reported missing districtwise by their families after Partition. It was not just inter-community

violence that women were the targets of Brothers killed sisters, fathers their daughters and husbands their wives to 'save' them from what they considered a fate worse than death.

Butalia uncovers a part of the women's experience of Partition and Partition violence through a painful drawing out of historical memory. Much of this violence, often retold by men, was and continues to be justified in the name of family and community honour. "Such narratives are meant to keep women within their *aukat*, their ordained boundary, which is one that defines them as nonviolent. Their actions are thus relocated into the comfortably symbolic realm of sacrifice ... for the community, victimhood and even nonviolence."

Breaking through the walls of silence that Partition victims constructed around themselves, Butalia's book has made a remarkable and deeply sensitising contribution to Partition literature.

Trap in Kashmir

Considering that a feature of almost all Indo-Pakistani dialogue has been an intensification of shelling from across the Pakistan side of the border in Kashmir, it is hardly surprising that the latest efforts at resuming the talks should also be accompanied by rising tension in the area. But there is probably also a difference from what happened in the past. The earlier acts of provocation were usually ascribed to a message from the Pakistani army and the ISI to the politicians in Islamabad not to be too friendly towards India. But if there were any differences in their approaches towards India earlier, this time they are probably in full agreement. The collapse of the dialogue within a day of the Vajpayee-Nawaz Sharif meeting in Colombo, and the continuing firing by Pakistani troops in Kashmir, may well be part of a bigger game plan. By ensuring that the Colombo initiative did not make any headway and then accusing India of violating Pakistani airspace, Islamabad evidently wants to lend additional confirmation to the international community's otherwise unwarranted fears that the situation in Kashmir is indeed grave. Having succeeded to a large extent in refocussing world attention on Kashmir as a flashpoint in the wake of the nuclear tests, Pakistan clearly does not want any relaxation of tension. Nothing else explains its sudden loss of interest in the talks.

Islamabad's sole objective at present is to pursue with even greater vigour its plan to involve a third party, preferably its old friend the US, in mediating in Kashmir and the only way to accomplish this is to ensure a rapid deterioration in the situation. There is little doubt that in evolving this dangerous strategy, the Pakistani politicians are in full agreement this time with the other, hidden elements in that country's ruling establishment, who have always pursued a sinister agenda of their own. In this provocative context, it is of the utmost importance for India to act with restraint because Islamabad would like nothing better than to goad New Delhi into committing an indiscretion. While returning the fire, therefore, India must keep the lines of communication open so that the conditions remain well under control. It requires no reiteration that the only solution to the problems facing the two neighbours has to be through a protracted dialogue and that, too, in an atmosphere of peace. Even those in Pakistan who believe that an act of brinkmanship will help their cause must realise that an escalation of conflict will only make the ultimate task of resolving the problems more difficult. India, too, will have to be on guard that it does not fall into a trap set by the desperate elements in Pakistan's ruling troika.

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